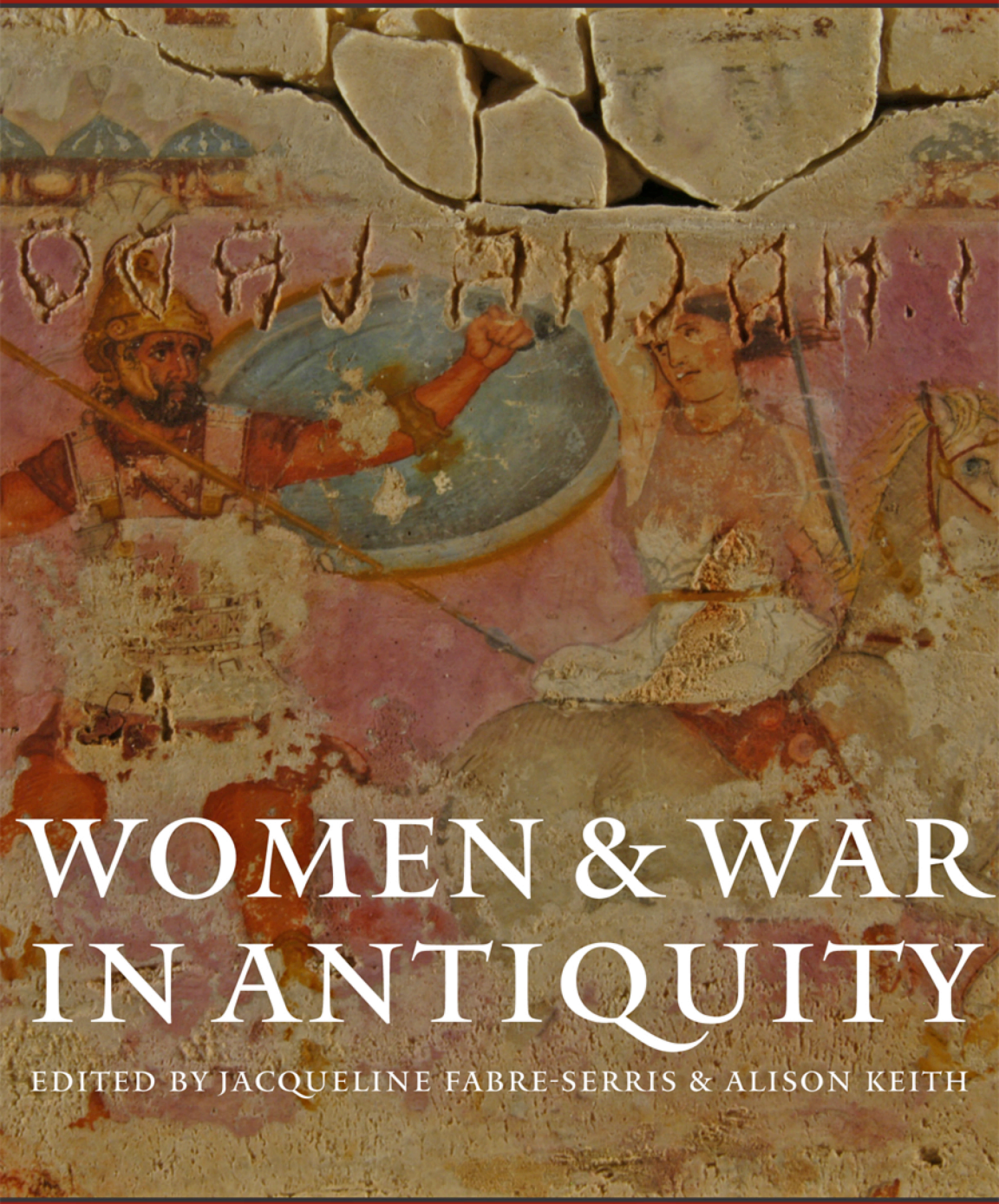

WOMEN & WAR IN ANTIQUITY

EDITED BY JACQUELINE FABRE-SERRIS & ALISON KEITH

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Women & War in Antiquity

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WOMEN & WAR IN ANTIQUITY

Edited by Jacqueline Fabre-Serris and Alison Keith

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Women & War in Antiquity

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Introduction

JACQUELINE FABRE-SERRIS AND ALISON KEITH

This volume had its foundations in a symposium on women and war in antiquity, which took place on 4–6 December 2009 at Université Charles de Gaulle—Lille 3, in the framework of the launch of the European Network on Gender Studies in Antiquity, or EuGeStA.[1] The goal of the symposium was to investigate war from the perspective of gender. Although war was considered a quintessentially masculine pursuit in classical antiquity, it nonetheless was an activity that raised questions about the role, status, and position of women in ancient Mediterranean cultures and it continues to raise these questions for the modern world.

The topic of women and war in antiquity has not received sustained scholarly attention. As our bibliography amply documents, other than the work of Nicole Loraux, who has adopted an anthropological approach,[2] research in this area has primarily been the province of historians of classical antiquity,[3] who have focused on the mythic Amazons.[4] The symposium offered an exciting opportunity to bring together specialists in literature, history, and material culture. This context allowed sustained dialogue across periods, genres, and types of evidence and enriches the essays collected in this volume. In particular, the dialogue between historians and literary critics deserves to be underlined, even if this focus on both historical and literary evidence is hardly surprising, given the important role played by literature in the societies and politics of classical antiquity. The often-conflicting perspectives articulated by historians and poets of ancient Greece and Rome led, in the course of the conference's final roundtable, to the development of new perspectives on how the categories "masculine" and "feminine" might be redefined in classical antiquity, a disciplinary turn with implications for gender theory. The contributors' essays on war, its violence, and its aftermath replaced one of the key analytical approaches in anthropological studies on gender—conceptualizing the relationship between masculine and

feminine in such terms as inversion, reversal, and breakdown[5]—with multifaceted approaches to and perspectives on gender relations. Such complex conceptions of gender relations also resonate with current conflicts, as was made clear by the dramatic presentation of modern women's writings on contemporary wars performed by students at the end of the symposium.

Another special feature of this volume is its treatment of Greece and the Greek world together with Rome and its empire. Scholarship in classical studies frequently tends to minimize, if not neglect, the role of Rome in favor of Greece when investigating cultural developments in the ancient Greco-Roman world.[6] But inasmuch as war was an activity in which the Romans excelled, triumphing over all their adversaries in the Mediterranean basin, the study of Roman attitudes and their assumptions, concerns, and reflections regarding war merits particular attention. From the time Rome began its imperial conquests in the Mediterranean basin, its cultural productions entered into dialogue with those of the earlier classical and Hellenistic periods in the Greek world. This dialogue, comprised of renewals, investigations, transformations, and adaptations, aimed at (re)creating Roman cultural identity, contested as the result of a crisis that itself resulted in an extended period of civil war and the profound transformation of the republican political regime into a monarchal system.

War, and the acts and values associated with it, were traditionally recognized in Greece and Rome as constituent features of masculine identity. The aim of this multidisciplinary volume is to set out a panorama of the ways in which the ancients not only conceived of but also questioned the relations between women and war. The contributors address the elaborations, displacements, and interrogations of differences between the sexes—in such matters as public and private activity, behavioral roles, political stance, the use of language, and the expression of emotions—by our ancient sources and examine the social and cultural characterizations that resulted from these differences. Our sources represent different types of discourse and a variety of literary genres. Some of these genres, moreover, have gender associations of their own. Thus epic poetry, centrally focused on war, was perceived as masculine, while elegy, originally the poetry of lamentation, was viewed as feminine.[7]

The studies collected in this volume treat both mythological combats and historical wars, since our accounts of these military conflicts constitute witnesses of equivalent scope and value for ancient Greco-Roman thinking about the phenomenon of war. In the realm of mythology, the two major conflicts are those unfolding around the cities of Troy and Thebes: one an external war and the other a civil war; both much evoked in epic and tragedy; both represented by

Hesiod as a double paradigm of conflict in the mythic age of heroes. The group of historical wars similarly include wars with outsiders—wars between Greek cities, between Greeks and barbarians, and Roman expeditions to the margins of its empire—and civil wars, most notably that which rent Rome asunder in the first century BCE.

Women generally do not take part as combatants, but these chapters argue that they nonetheless are at the center of the conflict. For women are, in effect, the cause, stakes, and victims of war: indirectly, because they lose their male relatives in war (fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers); and directly, because they are sacrificed, raped, killed, and/or reduced to slaves. It is worth considering, however, that they can also be the beneficiaries of war, when they are in the camp of the victors: in Rome, as Alison Keith argues, some of the wealth accrued from the conquests of the Roman state could fall to women, who could profit additionally from the availability of luxuries from the East.

In times of war, how do women make their thoughts and feelings known? Mostly through language, as if it were the sole compensation of their sex for being concerned with a mode of action that is an exclusively male prerogative. Men fight; women speak—to lament the loss of their kinfolk, or the fate that awaits them in the event of defeat—to express, again and again, their emotions. But not only that. When our texts give voice to women, they also create the opportunity for critiques of war itself. Through the portrayals of heroines identified by name, such as Hecuba, Andromache, Helen, and Polyxena (in the Trojan war) or Jocasta, Antigone, and Argia (in the Theban wars), or even the anonymous women (such as those who constitute the chorus of several tragedies), ancient Greco-Roman writers can, and often do, interrogate the values that motivate the combatants (the desire for glory and a beautiful death) and their cities (the contest for mercantile and military advantage, resulting in a military offensive that places the entire community at risk). Confined to the ramparts, from which they watch during the battles, women vainly advise their men to wage a war that could save their country or, like Jocasta, try to put an end to battle before the tragic outcome that they fail to prevent.

One fact that emerges from our contributors' renewed investigation of ancient historical texts is that women in classical antiquity at times assumed an active role in warfare, identical to that of men, as combatants or commanders. The studies in this collection devoted to mythic Amazons, to foreign queens (such as Tomyris, Zenobia, or the two Artemisias, who were queens of Caria), and to militarily engaged spouses of Roman generals (such as Fulvia and the elder Agrippina) illustrate how the textual and material representations of such

women censure their conduct, often harshly attacking them for transgressing conventional gender roles.

Finally, perhaps the most important issue facing those who study women and war in classical antiquity is that women's perspective on war is known only through writings by men. In offering viewpoints attributed to an Other, however, these different texts also reveal the values, principles, and prejudices of their authors. When they describe or assess women's words and deeds, they simultaneously bear witness to male views of female identity and to emotions and conduct that they themselves regard as characteristic of the female sex. Because they tend to conceive of a feminine perspective as utterly different from their own, several poets employ female characters to challenge commonly held conceptions of war.

The first two contributions in Part I of this volume illustrate and explore this particular, Greek and Roman, literary and ideological strategy. These are the two complementary studies of Homeric epic. In "War, Speech, and the Bow Are Not Women's Business," Philippe Rousseau reprises the investigation of four verses that the *Iliad* places in Hector's mouth (*Il.* 6.490–3) and that recur twice in the *Odyssey*, with slight variation, in the statements of Telemachus (*Od.* 1.356–9, 21.350–3). Construing the Odyssean verses as explicit and interconnected quotations of the Iliadic scene, intended to be recognized as such by the audience of the rhapsode, Rousseau argues that all three instances share the exclusion of women—Andromache in the *Iliad* and Penelope in the *Odyssey*—from competitions among men for which they themselves are, in fact, the stakes. Both women are kept from offering their own opinions: Andromache about the Trojan war itself; Penelope about choosing first a subject for epic song and later a male contestant (the disguised Odysseus) to enter into the trial to string the master's bow. The repetition of these four verses in the *Odyssey* carries the force of an authorial citation, which encourages the audience to relate these passages to one another, consider the sequence of events from one poem to the next, and reassess the validity of masculine perspectives about war that are given pride of place in the Homeric epics.

In "Women and War in the *Iliad*: Rhetorical and Ethical Implications," Marella Nappi observes that women make explicit statements about war in direct discourse throughout the *Iliad*. The key issue, she proposes, is whether these statements constitute a properly female discourse on the war in the *Iliad* and, if so, what role it may play in the narrative economy of the poem. Far from being confined to the role of possessions, of silent spectators and victims of war-

time atrocities, women express their point of view and give a voice to the horror that overwhelms them. Their speeches are widely separated from one another and provide only brief interludes in the main course of the narrative, but they offer an ongoing commentary on the events and constitute an important element in the development of a discourse about the war, distinct from (yet complementary to) the discourse of fighting heroes. If women understand the way the masculine world of war works, they cannot approve of a mode of behavior from which they, as future victims, foresee a deadly outcome. In the economy of the poem, their words not only anticipate the future, but often enter into dialogue with the passages where the voice of the poet-narrator is expressed. His interest in this feminine perspective can be seen especially clearly in the final book of the *Iliad*, which closes with the image of the women of Troy projected into a future of sadness and suffering by the death of Hector.

The third contribution, "Teichoskopia: Female Figures Looking On Battles," by Therese Fuhrer, adopts an approach similar to that of the two preceding chapters. It explores the staging of women's perspectives on warfare: the view of military combat from the ramparts, as experienced by women emotionally connected to the combatants as family members and lovers. Fuhrer charts a course from Homeric epic, which offers an archetype of this scenario with the teichoskopia in Book 3 of the *Iliad*, to the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, with stops along the way at Horace's *Odes* (3.2) and Statius's *Thebaid*. Her analysis illuminates how Roman as well as Greek authors ascribe words and feelings to women, adding nuance and complexity to their own narratives about and reflections on war. Her sophisticated interpretation of the teichoskopia scenes opens new horizons for understanding Horace's famous, indeed notorious, tag *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* ("sweet it is and honorable, to die for one's native land"). Even if these scenes do not directly question the meaning and necessity of combat, they offer an alternative to the conventional masculine view of war, which is preoccupied with issues of masculinity, personal honor, and victory in battle.

François Lissarrague contributes an iconographic study, "Women Arming Men: Armor and Jewelry," of a recurrent scene on Greek vases whose mythical model is Thetis's gift of new arms to Achilles. His chapter highlights the existence of another link between women and war: without her, there can be no warrior. This connection reveals itself ambiguously in the contrast between images of legendary warriors arming and mythical women dressing. Lissarrague analyzes in detail images of Eriphyle arming Amphiaraus and Achilles in the midst of the daughters of King Lycomedes. He suggests that these sequences of images

reveal a structured narrative about the relations between male and female, organized by a play between feminine adornment and deadly masculine panoply.

The two subsequent contributions deal with Greek and Roman tragedy, and hence with a literary genre that privileges two particular moments in the scenario of war: those immediately preceding the fatal outcome of battle and those that follow. In "Woman and War: From the Theban Cycle to Greek Tragedy," Louise Bruit Zaidman studies the role of women in the Theban wars, which combine a foreign war (between Argos and Thebes) with fratricidal combat (between Oedipus's sons Eteocles and Polynices). She focuses her analysis partly on the successive attitudes of an anonymous collective (the chorus) and partly on the two women most closely concerned, because of their parentage, with the two opposing generals: Jocasta (their mother) and Antigone (their sister). Bruit shows how, in Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes*, a gendered contrast structures the relationship between the tragic hero Eteocles, who decisively manages the logistics of war in his deployment of Theban captains against their Argive counterparts, and the tragic chorus of Theban women, whose place Eteocles defines as within the walls of their households in the city. Their starkly gendered spatial relationship is transformed, however, when Eteocles yields to the temptation to face his own brother, Polynices, in the conflict. In Euripides's *Phoenissae*, by contrast, Bruit demonstrates that the poet gives a decisive role to female combat in response to the masculine discourse of war and the clash of arms. Jocasta and Antigone are inexorably drawn into their family's ruin, despite (or perhaps because of) their efforts to persuade their male kin to pursue the path of peace. They, too, therefore, are consumed, like their menfolk, in the destruction of the household.

Seneca's *Troades*, a Roman play conflating two of Euripides's tragedies, examines the fate of women in the aftermath of war, with the announcement that the victorious Greeks intend to sacrifice the Trojan princess Polyxena and the Trojan prince Astyanax. In "Women after War in Seneca's *Troades*: A Reflection on Emotions," Jacqueline Fabre-Serris argues that Seneca has focused his play on the question (central to Stoic philosophy) of the control of one's emotions, and especially on the problem of women's control of their emotions, which Seneca had already treated in two *Consolations*: one addressed to Marcia and the other to his mother Helvia. In accordance with the idea, developed in the *Consolations*, that, with practice, women can learn to bear trials and suffering, Seneca puts lamentations into the mouth of the Trojan Queen Hecuba and her companions that reaffirm their Trojan identity in the face of the women's impending separation, rather than expressing their grief. By contrast, in the characters of

Andromache and Helen, Seneca represents female incapacity for self-rule. Andromache, who is presented as the Trojan woman subjected to the greatest suffering, does not succeed in saving her son, Astyanax, since she betrays her fear for his life by uncontrollable physical symptoms. This is not the case with Polyxena, however, who, at the moment of her sacrifice, compels the admiration of the Greeks by her complete control over her body and receives Seneca's endorsement as a "bold warrior woman" (*audax uirago*). At the sight of the indomitable maiden, the Greek victors themselves are, in turn, collectively overwhelmed by emotion. Mingled with their compassion, however, Seneca depicts another, more troubling emotion: his acknowledgment of the pleasure of viewing the noble death of a victim who retains total control over herself.

In her study "Love and War: Feminine Models, Epic Roles, and Gender Identity in Statius's *Thebaid*," Federica Bessone shows that in an epic, love and woman challenge the masculine world of *arma*, while also being implicated in it. As a poet of paradox, in the *Thebaid* Statius not only represents the impiety of women "in weapons"—wives who become murderous for love—but also celebrates the heroic deed of an exemplary bride *in the midst of* weapons: a woman who becomes virile in the name of conjugal love. Two mirror-image gender transgressions demonstrate ancient theories about love's effecting an exchange of gender roles: the Lemniads prove the theorization by Euripides's Medea that a cowardly woman turns into a murderous creature when wronged in her marriage bed; and Argia's enterprise gives evidence of Plato's representation of Eros as the origin of virtue (*arete*), even in women. Argia, elevated by a heroism that transcends her sex and raises her to the level of historical Roman women famous for their opposition to tyranny, violates the interdiction of Creon in the name of conjugal piety and defies death for love of her husband.

The final two contributions to this section inquire into women's ways of adhering to heroic values commonly regarded as masculine. Both essays analyze how women's relationships to war may differ, depending on context and characterization. In a chapter entitled "Elegiac Women and Roman Warfare," Alison Keith explores the elegists' depictions of their mistresses as both the products and proponents of the Roman imperial project. She suggests that while the elegiac mistress may weep at the departure of her lover, she nonetheless sends him off to war. The elegists thereby represent their elegiac mistresses as beneficiaries of Rome's military adventurism in the Mediterranean. At the same time, however, their verse reveals a striking overlap in their mistresses' nomenclature with that of the slave- and freedwomen in Augustan Rome, who can be documented from inscriptions of the late republic and early principate. Their names are thus

resonant of Roman imperial conquest and the importation of foreign female labor (whether domestic, sexual, or both) into the imperial capital. As both product and proponent of Roman imperialism, the elegiac mistress illustrates Roman elegy's intimate correlation with Roman imperialism in its celebration of the sexual spoils of military conquest.

Epic poetry features female combatants as well as female victims of war, figures often reduced in scholarly analyses to mere deviant and menacing representatives of Otherness. In "Warrior Women in Roman Epic," Alison Sharrock observes that women and nonhuman females usually enter an epic as its victims, as *causae belli* ("causes of war") and as drivers of war (a category populated mostly by nonhumans, like goddesses and Furies). But, in her chapter, she focuses on the small number of women who participate on the battlefield as warriors themselves. She asks if fighting women are always necessarily reduced to Amazons, in other words, if martial women inhabit only a deviant Otherness which must be destroyed and humiliated in order to bolster the fragile male ego of classical antiquity. Or does tradition allow them any chance to be soldiers-who-are-women? The chapter starts by testing Vergil's Camilla against the Amazon intertextual and intercultural background that she evokes and demonstrates that Camilla is remarkably effective at escaping from the Amazonian background. Against this template, Sharrock explores what later Roman epic writers did with the tradition they inherited from Vergil, concluding that no subsequent author releases his female warrior from her Amazonian chains to anything like the extent achieved by Vergil. Nonetheless, she finds that epic poets were exploring, in fiction, the question of how a woman might enter a man's world on equal terms long before the political world began to address the issue.

Pierre Ducrey's chapter, "War in the Feminine in Ancient Greece," opens the second group of papers by launching a new line of inquiry into the historical evidence, asking how textual evidence may be used to apprehend and reconstruct historical women's roles in war. The terrifying circumstances faced by women when their cities are captured are but the most prominent aspect of an ambiguous and complex situation. He shows that women were not only capable of military combat, but also known to have participated in different activities related to the waging of war. From the Hellenistic era onward, they were said to have accompanied armies, taken up residence in military colonies, and contributed materially to the war effort (e.g., by offering their hair to help construct artillery equipment).

The negative interpretation of female combatants in an epic, observed by Alison Sharrock, evinces itself in most Greek and Roman texts, whether they por-

tray anonymous groups of women or the figures of historical women who took part in wars. In "To Act, Not Submit: Women's Attitudes in Situations of War in Ancient Greece," Stella Georgoudi reconsiders a set of well-known texts: the diverse accounts of women's collective exploits when their city was threatened by war. She notes that there are two tendencies in scholarship on the relations between the sexes in ancient Greece: the first excludes women from politics and citizenship, which was available only to men; the second attempts to explore every form of female activity that took place in civic space. Situating herself in this latter tradition, Georgoudi analyzes not only a suite of events that are considered historical, but also some that are dismissed as "legendary"—all of which the Greeks viewed as exemplary and appropriate to the education of youth. Taking up three examples of women's collective exploits in war, she sets her analysis in contradistinction both to historians who have viewed the female combatants as simple "helpers" of their menfolk, and to anthropologists who have developed the theory of *inversion*, *reversal*, and *anomaly*, founded above all on an entrenched opposition between the two sexes. In their place, Georgoudi proposes a theory of *participation*, *cooperation*, and *collective effort*, which appear to her as more adequately accounting for the variety and complexity of these situations in which women intervene collectively in defense of their country.

The following contribution, "Women's Wars, Censored Wars?," also opens up a new perspective. After having sketched women's participation in efforts to defend their countries and their presence in the commemorations of battle, Pascal Payen notes that neither historians nor civic ideology keep silent about these types of participation in war by women. He therefore investigates the manner in which the Greeks envisaged the relations between women and war from the vantage point of the experience of foreigners. Payen takes for his examples the narratives that Herodotus constructed both for historical events (like the battles won by Tomyris against Cyrus) and mythical occurrences (the battles of the Amazons in the origin myth of the Sauromatian people). He demonstrates that—whether or not they existed historically—Tomyris (Queen of the Massagetes) and the Amazons were of interest to ancient historians in their theorization of warfare.

The example of foreign queens also forms the basis for the contribution of Violaine Sebillotte Cuchet, in her chapter on "The Warrior Queens of Caria." Through the detailed analyses of several texts, she shows that a richer and more accurate historical understanding of the relationship between women and war emerges when decoding the various filters—ideological and rhetorical—imposed by different authors in antiquity, according to the aims of their works.

She brings to the table the biases introduced by classical Athenian ideology, in which the opposition between Greeks and barbarians—propounded in the opposition between Greeks/men/victors and barbarians/slaves/vanquished—included a division between the sexes and was instantiated in a gendered rhetoric where women in power and women at war were impossible to conceptualize. Such a division usually resulted in the denial that a foreign woman, although the political and military leader of her city, could have achieved a series of military successes.

In "Fulvia: The Representation of an Elite Roman Woman Warrior," Judith Hallett devotes herself to a fascinating historical excavation of Fulvia, in turn wife of the demagogue Publius Clodius Pulcher; Clodius's friend Gaius Scribonius Curio; and Curio's friend, the triumvir Mark Antony. Hallett charts the strategies of violent denigration to which Fulvia, because of her military involvement, was subjected at the time of the Perusine war by contemporary writers and shows how these writings likewise influenced later writers, such as Velleius Paterculus, Plutarch, Appian, and Cassius Dio. In arguing that these sources represent Fulvia in much the same fictionalizing way as Catullus and Augustan elegists do in portraying their *inamoratae*, Hallett attests to the double influence of the Catullan corpus: not only as a model of invective, with its attacks on women for being physically unattractive but sexually aggressive, but also as the precursor of elegiac poetry, with its exaltation of an all-powerful *domina*.

Stéphane Benoist, in "Women and *Imperium* in Rome: Imperial Perspectives," suggests that the later historical tradition is not as brutal in attacking either the women of the Roman household who engage in military activity or foreign females such as Boudicca or Zenobia. Drawing on the textual evidence of historiography, epigraphy, and papyrology that treats feminine *exempla* at the sides of their husbands in the military contexts of battlefield and army camp, he considers these women in the context of an imperial discourse that constructs good emperors and bad emperors from the end of the republic to late antiquity. He argues that this discourse denounced women's appropriation of *imperium* as evidence of the power games played by men, who were at the heart of Roman political life. Thus a report of women bearing arms or a direct reference to women usurping *imperium militiae* (the military power invested in Roman magistrates and governors) served to call into question the legitimacy (and masculinity) of powerful men. The construction of an official identity for the empress (such as "mother of emperors, army camps, and Senate") had a similar effect: in this discourse, women's assumption of military power figured into

the historian's negative judgment on the imperial rule of their husbands, fathers, and sons.

This volume concludes with a chapter, "The Feminine Side of War in Claudian's Epics," on a literary genre that received its fullest development in late antiquity—the Latin panegyric, which expressly celebrated the claims to masculinity by political and military leaders. Interrogating the texts of Claudian from a feminine perspective, Henriette Harich-Schwarzbauer argues that Claudian puts into play a rich array of motifs, figures, and metaphors linked to women and the feminine. Such tropes occupy a prominent place in the long tradition of Roman epic, as illustrated by Vergil, Lucan, Silius Italicus, and Statius, to which was added Seneca's influence. She focuses on the military leader Stilicho, who had to fight against both internal and external enemies. She shows that as a panegyrist, Claudian was writing a history of the success of this *magister utriusque militiae*, who was the husband of the most influential woman at the court of the Western Roman Empire, Serena. Harich-Schwarzbauer argues that, in his intention to praise, Claudian reworks central female figures, motives, and discourses of the epic tradition, reducing the number of historical women and favoring female personifications, especially in their function as war-mongering women, thereby shedding new light on the anonymous women whose function is to complain about the famine in Italy and articulate the fear of the masses. In this way, Claudian, in his war narratives, develops a continuous discourse on male and female virtues.

NOTES

1. EuGeStA was composed of six universities at the time of the symposium: Basel, Berlin (Free University), Lille 3, Manchester, Paris 1, and Turin; it currently comprises eleven, with the replacement of Berlin (Free University) with the University of Munich and the addition of Bern, Swiss Fribourg, the Open University, UCLA, and Toronto.

2. See, for example, Loraux 1981a, 1981b, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1990, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2002.

3. See especially Evans 1991. See also Bertholet at al. 2008; Bichler 2000; Blok 2002; Carney 2000, 2005; Ducat 1999; Hazewindus 2004; Hölscher 1998; Konstan 2002; Payen 2004; Pillonel 2003; Schmitt-Pantel 2009a, 2009b; Sebillotte Cuchet 2009a, 2009b; Thémélis 2001; Vanotti 2010.

4. See, for example, Blok 1995, 1996; Dubois 1982; Fabre-Serris 2008; Fucecchi 2007; Hölscher 2000; Lefkowitz 1987; Lissarrague 2009 [with Schmitt-Pantel];

Schmiel 1986. The female characters in Homeric epic have also received considerable scholarly attention. See, for example, Arthur 1981; Beck 2006; Beye 1974; De Romilly 1997; Graver 1995; Kakridis 1956; Minadeo 1993; Pantelia 1993, 2002; Roochnik 1990; Rozokoki 1999–2000; Segal 1993; Skafte Jensen 1994; Tsagalis 2004; Van Nortwick 2001; Woronoff 1983. On Athenian drama, see Zeitlin 1990a.

5. For the conventional anthropological conceptualization of gender see, for example, Héritier 1996; 2002.

6. On women and warfare in Rome, see also Bessone 2010; Fabre-Serris 2010; Keith 2000.

7. See the many discussions of "the gender of elegy" collected in Wyke 2002. See also Hinds 2000; Stahl 1985.

War, Speech, and the Bow Are Not Women's Business

PHILIPPE ROUSSEAU

The three passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* that I examine here, in the form in which we have received these Homeric epics, are a remarkable example of repetition with intentional variations. The repetition of lines or groups of lines within the same poem has, since antiquity, been a recurrent issue in discussions among scholars. But when the repetition occurs between one poem and another, and when it applies to a group of several lines where the repetition is virtually exact but introduces a small number of slight modifications—the substitution of one word or hemistich for another—its interpretation is strongly disputed. Is there mechanistic evidence of reworking and redrafting, which would have been part of the creation of the works that we are reading—a semiotically neutral practice—caused by the demands of both context and the traditional material as it was handed down? Or is there an explicit reference understood as an intentional echo: as a quotation from one poem by another, and, within the same poem, from one episode by another? If it is a quotation, what meaning or effect does the text being quoted aim to produce? Does this repetition show the probable relative chronology of these passages, the relationship between the precursor and the iteration? Can the way in which the first one is used by the second reveal traces of the interpretation the one made of the other?

Three scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (as we have them) are linked by the repetition, with identifiable alterations, of the same group of four hexameters: the farewell of Hector and Andromache toward the end of Book 6 of the first poem (*Il.* 6.490–3); the discussion provoked by the song of the Ithacan Bard, Phemius, in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1.356–9); and the argument that pits the leaders of the suitors against Penelope and Telemachus when the counterfeit beggar demands permission to take part in the archery contest (*Od.* 21.350–3). The part of the text that is common to the last two episodes is not limited to the four lines it

shares with the *Iliad* but also extends to the five lines that follow, and the variation between one and the other turns only on one word—a fundamental point in my argument:

ἀλλ᾽ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε, 490
ἱστόν τ᾽ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐμοί, τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν

Go, then, back to your home, and busy yourself with your daily duties, your loom and your distaff, and the ordering of your servants, for the *war* will be a matter for all the men, and for me most of all, who are born in Troy.

ἀλλ᾽ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
ἱστόν τ᾽ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· μῦθος δ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ᾽ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ

Go, then, back to your home, and busy yourself with your daily duties, your loom, your distaff, and the ordering of your servants; for the *speech* will be a matter for all the men, and for me most of all—for it is I who am master of this house.

ἀλλ᾽ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε, 350
ἱστόν τ᾽ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· τόξον δ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ᾽ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ

Go, then, back to your home, and busy yourself with your daily duties, your loom, your distaff, and the ordering of your servants; for the *bow* will be a matter for all the men, and for me most of all—for it is I who am master of this house.

In the three scenes, these lines fulfill a similar function. In the mouth of the man for whom they are the final words of his speech, addressed to a woman who is being told to go home and carry out her domestic duties, they are followed by the narrator's description of the behavior of the woman who has obeyed those words and goes into her house or apartments, sees her servants there, and tearfully moans to them about having lost her husband. The relationship between

the man and the woman are different in the *Iliad* scene from that in the two Odyssean scenes—a husband in one case, a son in the other two—but this difference is still part of this pattern of iteration.

In each of the three scenes, these lines, and the effect they have on their addressee, signal the end of the episode and mark a turning point in the development of the action. The two variations are significant: the replacement of a single word in each of the three passages—"war" in the *Iliad*, "speech" and "bow" in the *Odyssey*—with a different ending to the speaker's order between the first poem and the two Odyssean scenes.[1]

I intend to show that this repetition is a quotation—from the *Iliad* by the *Odyssey* (however we believe the two Homeric epics came into being)—and that it is essential to the meaning of the two *Odyssey* passages. Furthermore, the double quotation from Books 1 and 21 of the latter work is based on a profound reading of the *Iliad* scene and, from one episode to the other within the *Odyssey*, the repetition serves as a feature of the internal textual organization of the work.

I begin with an examination of the passage that admittedly plays the part of the Deleuzian "dark" precursor in this series of repetitions. At the end of the farewell scene, Hector, having urged his wife not to distress herself prematurely about his fate, tells her to go back home and get on with the tasks that are her responsibility: weaving, spinning, and overseeing the work of the servants. "For the war," he adds, "will be a matter for the men, and for me most of all, who are born in Troy." The four lines of Hector's order to his spouse are, in fact, the last words that the hero speaks to Andromache in the poem. They have often been quoted and commented on. Since antiquity they have been read as a concise definition of how a good wife should behave. The first phrase of the bT scholium at line 491[2] is representative of an exegetic tradition for which Eustathius offers a characteristic example: Hector's words are understood by the Byzantine commentator as a moral instruction addressed by Homer "*to women*" in general.[3] Modernists barely retain the educational or normative reading of this passage, any more than they do of Homeric poems in general, but they are prepared to consider that these lines belong to a fund of traditional and almost proverbial epic sayings, and that they express a commonplace view derived from archaic morality on the subject of the division of tasks between men and women.

But why did Homer decide to end the conversation between Hector and his wife in this way? At this particular moment in the action and with a response that seems to be a consolation, what would be the reason for this resort to the conventional contrast between the activities of the good housewife and those

that are the exclusive purview of men? Does Hector invite Andromache to get on with her business and leave the burden of the affairs of war to men in order to calm her? Or is he reassuring her by telling her that the men of Troy will know how to fight to defend the town? Is he doing both? Or something else? And why?

Even if these lines had been used by other rhapsodes and in other contexts before the performance of the *Iliad* recorded in our text (which is not impossible), where they appear in the poem is more closely linked to the narrative situation than the accepted interpretation would admit. The word πόλεμος, here, does not signify "war" in general, an activity for which the responsibility lies naturally with men within the framework of society,[4] but instead refers to the specific battle in which the Trojans are involved, which provides the context and the subject matter of the conversation between the two spouses. The position of Troy, threatened by the Achaeans' victorious onslaught, is critical at the beginning of Book 6. At the request of his brother, the soothsayer Helenos, Hector, having rallied his warriors and contained the enemies' charge, goes back to the town to ask his mother Hecuba to go to the temple of Athena and beg the goddess to spare Troy from the danger Diomedes was imposing on it. The composition of this whole episode is clear: three main scenes, framed and linked together by short scenes of introduction, transition, and conclusion, place Hector successively in the presence of his mother in Priam's palace, of his brother Paris and Helen in Paris's bedchamber, and of Andromache and her son in a street in the lower town, not far from the gateway that opens onto the battlefield. The choice of locations is full of meaning, from the well-ordered state, albeit under threat, of the royal palace to the disorderliness that is revealed by the wanderings of the princess and Hector's son by the ramparts, while passing through the source of evil, the scandalous presence of Helen in Paris's bedroom.[5] Hector's visit to Troy is essential to the understanding of the whole design of the poem; it forms a coherence from which nothing can be removed without losing the meaning of the whole. Having returned to the town to try, with the help of the gods, to ward off a victorious attack by the Achaeans, Hector sees for himself, when he discovers Helen in his brother's bedchamber, the grievous fault that has caused the recommencement of hostilities and would lead inexorably to the defeat and sack of Troy. This was the basis for his decision, with no advance warning, to make a detour by way of his own palace before returning to the field—a decision that he explains to Helen as being due to the ongoing uncertainty about his fate and the outcome of the current battle. Then, when he arrives home, he discovers that neither his wife nor his son is *in the house*. In the face of this unusual, almost scandalous, absence, his servants are unable to concur

with any of the acceptable explanations that he suggests to them. Andromache rushed out of her house "like a madwoman"[6] to get to the battlements at the sound of the defeat being suffered by the Trojans in the field. Her behavior breaches the rules of good manners. The anomaly is even more striking because, from the first mention of her name in the poem at the beginning of the scene, this young woman is described by phrases that portray her as a model wife.[7] The almost accidental meeting of the spouses did not thus take place within the house, but outside—an indication of the state of crisis and the disorder that had befallen Troy with the kidnapping of Helen by Paris and its repetition at the end of the duel in Book 3, despite the combatants' sworn oaths.[8]

Furthermore, there is a second important element related to these lines. The location to which Andromache went (the battlements) and the reason why she was there (the development of the situation on the battlefield) are both linked to the war. Moreover, Andromache is talking to Hector about its conduct and the tactics to adopt in the battle taking place at the time. Her tirade does not only offer, as is still too frequently thought, a moving illustration of her suffering and anguish, but also suggests to her husband—her protector and the defender of the town—another strategy, one that is more reliable and efficacious than the risks of the previous one, demonstrated by the rout of the Trojans. The lines in which she recommends this defensive strategy, at the end of her *rhesis*,[9] have often been censored by critics for reasons of substance that are sometimes buttressed by considerations of form. Suffice it to say that their arguments rely merely on the double premise that war is not a matter for women and that the tactical reasoning offered by Andromache spoils the moving immediacy of the expression of her emotions.

As far as form is concerned, Dieter Lohmann finds that these lines do not fit into the ring-composition he recognizes in the organization of the rest of the speech and believes that therein lies an argument in support of the critics' thesis.[10] But the lines in question correspond with, even if they are in opposition to, Andromache's first sentence, "your courage will ruin you" (φθείσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, 4.407) and form the second half of the outer ring of the composition. Moreover, it is worthy of note that, in the first part of his response, Hector rejects the strategy Andromache recommends to him, but he does so without arguing that she has no right to say it, and he even builds on the fears that had given rise to her proposal. Hector thus does not refuse to allow his wife to take part in the discussions, as she indeed did, and he does not send her away to her own sphere and the business proper to it in reaction to her speech. He only does so later on, in the lines that are the subject of this chapter.

And even then, what is he really saying? The meaning of his last response is not clear. It follows the well-known scene in which Hector takes his son in his arms and asks the gods to grant that Astyanax one day may be known for being as brave as his father, or more so, and that he may reign over Ilion and cause his mother's heart to rejoice through his exploits[11]—a prayer that must sound strange after the somber prediction in his reply to Andromache. At what time and in what place can the Trojan believe that the gods will grant his wishes if fate follows the course that he himself had just announced? What hope does he put in this invocation, uttered against all expectation? It is the verbal gesture that counts. Hector is not deluding himself. The potential future put forward in this prayer perhaps cannot be achieved, but it is woven through with the values and choices that determine the behavior of the hero evoking it. In this future Hector does not see his own existence in any other way than as a standard of comparison against which to measure his son's bravery, and his prayer seems to ring out with the anticipated echoes of his own funeral oration. Andromache does not delude herself. The tears that mingled with her laughter were a result of Hector's previous response to her plea and the certainty that their fates were sealed. The wishes expressed by her husband for Astyanax could only have confirmed her fears. Hector sees that, and he feels pity for her grief. But the consoling words he speaks to her do not cancel out the depressing prediction of his previous speech. A tender gesture accompanies the exhortation not to distress herself beyond reason, because death will not send him down to Hades before the time fixed from the moment of his birth by destiny—an endpoint from which no one can escape, whether brave or cowardly.[12] The basis of the consolation can be seen in this emphatic reminder of the law that rules the course of events, along with the fragment of fragile hope that is evident when men are on the point of death. The end of Hector's reply—the four lines that are of interest here—is not an addition to what has gone before but instead is tightly attached to it. However well-founded the anguish that caused Andromache to leave the palace and rush toward the battlements to go to the battlefield, the advice that it led the young woman to put forward can do nothing to change the course of events.[13] Hector therefore invites his wife to go back home and attend to her duties while he, for his part, will fight at the head of the Trojans to defend the town in a war that, at this point in the poem, he sees to be hopeless. Andromache obeys him and returns to the palace, but she continues to weep and, when she arrives home, instead of applying herself to the tasks Hector mentioned, she involves her servants in a funereal lamentation for her still-living husband.

I now turn to the two passages in the *Odyssey*. The terms of the discussion have been broadly fixed by the commentators in antiquity. Aristarchus marked the four lines where they occur in the *Iliad* with an asterisk, indicating that they were in the correct place. From the same scholium, we know that he regarded the passage from Book 21 of the *Odyssey* as authentic but rejected the one from Book 1. The arguments put forward by the scholiast to support the athetization of *Odyssey* 1.356–9[14] come from two types of consideration: that the best manuscripts the Alexandrines had available to them did not even include these lines,[15] and that the lines don't fit well into the context.

Modern commentators have often followed this mode of reasoning.[16] This is the position cautiously adopted by Stephanie West: "The lines raise some awkward questions which are seldom squarely faced. Recalling as they do one of the most memorable scenes of the *Iliad*, Hector's farewell to Andromache, they have the effect of a quotation, and their callousness in this context is enhanced by the contrast with their earlier occurrence: there it is war which is said to be the concern of men, a view which no Homeric woman could question, and Hector is attempting to calm Andromache's fears, not telling her to mind her own business. If these lines are authentic here, are we to infer that the poet intended his audience to recognize an allusion to the *Iliad*, or are we misled by the scantiness of the material available to us? Did his original audience see in these lines simply a stock heroic response to women who pester their menfolk? Certainly the favorable impression created by Telemachus' earlier observations is quite destroyed by this adolescent rudeness, culminating in the outrageous claim that speech (μῦθος) is not women's business, quite contrary to Homeric custom at the courts of Menelaus and Alcinous, where Helen and Arete play a full part in the conversation after dinner. Some have praised the psychological realism by which Telemachus is made to go too far in his first attempt to assert his authority; I find this an unconvincing defence and am inclined to follow Aristarchus in suspecting interpolation intended, perhaps, partly to provide a more explicit reason for Penelope's withdrawal and partly to stress Telemachus' newly acquired self-confidence."[17]

I intend nonetheless to show that (1) the four disputed lines are essential in understanding the sequence of events in Book 1; (2) the audience should hear them as a quotation from the farewell scene; and (3) in the internal-repetition device in the *Odyssey*, the reprisal of these lines in Book 21 assumes their use in Book 1 and not the other way round.

Let me briefly recap the context. Telemachus has seen the guest whom he had escorted to the door of the manor house fly off and disappear in front of his eyes

after having held a long conversation with him. Telemachus realizes that he has been dealing with a god and returns to the hall where the suitors are listening to the bard of Ithaca, Phemius, recounting the bitter return of the Acheans, after their victory over Troy. Penelope heard the minstrel from where she was standing upstairs. She comes down and rebukes him for having chosen from his repertoire a song whose theme breaks her heart because of her distress and regret over the man whose memory never leaves her. Her son disagrees with her, however, and defends the bard, telling his mother not to make poets accountable for the misfortunes they have drawn on to compose their stories. This is the responsibility of Zeus, who is master of the fate that befalls everyone. Telemachus then encourages Penelope to muster the strength to listen to the song, asserting that Ulysses is not the only Achaean who failed to return from Troy. It is at this point that Telemachus, taking up the words of Hector and adapting them in two essential particulars, invites her to return home and get on with her own duties, as "speech" is a matter for men, and especially for him, who has power in the household. Astonished at these words, Penelope returns to her apartments with her maids and weeps there for her husband, until Athena causes her to fall asleep.

This summary shows that the similarities between the *Iliad* scene and the Odyssean one are not restricted to the repetition of four disputed lines. In both cases, the woman has left her "natural" place. She did this as a result of either dread or pain caused by what she could hear taking place outside her space, in a situation where the fate or fame of her husband is at stake, be it on the battlefield or in a commemorative song. In both scenes her intervention is aimed at changing the course of events, either through military tactics or domestic strategy, to protect the man she loves from a danger—whether real or symbolic—that not only affects him but also involves her own fate very deeply: grief, rape, and servitude for Andromache, and a hated forced marriage for Penelope. The distribution of roles in the dialogue is certainly different, since the man to whom Penelope is making her request is not the one who replies, but even this difference is illuminating when looking below the surface of the narrative. The song of Phemius—who didn't sing it voluntarily—is a response to the expectations of or a formal order from the men at whose service the bard is obliged to sing.[18]

By asking Phemios to interrupt a song that is so painful to her[19] and choose another to charm his audience, the queen is asserting her authority over what is happening in the hall and denying the authority the suitors had appropriated. But among her, the rhapsode, and his supporters, there is still someone missing when she speaks—a husband who is no longer present, a legitimate holder of

authority whose absence Phemius enshrines in his song. Telemachus's intervention, doubtless as unexpected by his mother as by the suitors, has precise relevance to this point. As his final words state, "it is I who am master of this household." The son claims responsibility for and takes over the position left vacant by the disappearance of his father. Moreover, the Odyssean repetition of the scene from the *Iliad* ironically plays on the triangular relationship between the characters from its model: in Telemachus, Astyanax has grown up and reached the age where he is capable of achieving the goals for which Hector prayed to the gods.

The words that Telemachus addresses to his mother have shocked audiences by what seemed to be their rudeness. Yet these words follow the same pattern to be found in Hector's last reply, inspired by pity for his wife, that he made at the end of the farewell scene: an exhortation to contain the emotion that led Penelope to act as she did; a criticism of the grounds for this emotion; a prescriptive reference to the order of things as they are; and an invitation to accept the course of events, go home, and busy herself with her regular duties, leaving men, and the man who is speaking above all, with the task of resolving the problem in the meantime.

Finally, the two scenes have similar outcomes: the woman obeys, but the narrator signals that this was not a foregone conclusion (Andromache constantly turns round as she leaves and Penelope is stunned);[20] she finds herself back with her servants; and, in her own space, she does not busy herself with the tasks she has been reminded about but instead weeps for a husband who is not dead, but alive. Telemachus's repetition of the four last lines of Hector's response thus fits into a scene that is molding itself, in a condensed version, on the farewell scene. There is a hypertextual connection between the two passages that comes close to what Gérard Genette describes as a transformation.[21] This connection, moreover, is not hidden within the texture of the narrative. It cannot be reduced to the shared use of a traditional narrative pattern, motif, or characteristic scene. The bard of the *Odyssey* wishes to make this clear to his audience through a repetition that, in this context (bearing in mind the total homology I have noted in these two episodes), acts as a *quotation*, as Uvo Hölscher[22] has correctly identified. The structural similarities, which are reported and highlighted, show the differences and give meaning to the lexical variations in the repetition, inviting the listener to hear the Iliadic hypotext under the Odyssean hypertext. It is in this way that the connection between the two scenes should be read.

Because of the idea passed down by the scholia and Eustathius's commentaries, the expressions that Hector used to take leave of Andromache were seen as

nothing more than the generally accepted view about the social division of tasks between the sexes. By making Telemachus repeat the same expressions, even though he substituted "speech" for "war," it was thought that the poet gave an arbitrary character to the son's utterances—"the outrageous claim that speech (μῦθος) is not women's business, quite contrary to Homeric custom"[23]—that exposed their rudeness. But this interpretation of the Trojan prince's words is certainly biased by the sexist prejudices of Homer's readers and commentators. Hector's speech can be seen more narrowly in the context of a conversation between spouses. There, "war" (πόλεμος) does not designate general warlike activity, but rather *the* battle that is underway, whose turn of events had alarmed Andromache and caused her to leave the palace at an untimely moment to suggest to her husband that he consider another strategy. The same point applies to the scene from the *Odyssey*. Even if there is no denying that the poet amused himself by endowing the young man's first adult speech with a rather peremptory tone, this is not the essential point. The speech (μῦθος) being considered here is specified by its content. It was foreshadowed and pointed out by Athena during her conversation with Telemachus: "Summon tomorrow the Achaean heroes to an assembly! Tell them all everything you have to say to them [μῦθον, "speech"] and call the gods to be witnesses! Order the suitors to go away and return to their homes! If your mother's heart leads her to marry, let her return to her father's palace."[24] When Penelope has gone back to the women's apartments upstairs, Telemachus talks to the suitors to give them his instructions: let everyone eat calmly for the moment, listening to the bard, "but tomorrow morning, as dawn breaks, let us all go and sit in the assembly so that I can unequivocally let you know what I have to say (μῦθον), to leave the manor house etc."[25] The next part of Telemachus's statement, fuelled by the advice and instructions that his divine guest had given him, makes explicit the implications of this μῦθος: the suitors should go and celebrate elsewhere, using their own resources, but if they prefer to ruin him with impunity because he is alone, let them do so! "I will call to my assistance the immortal gods, in the hope that Zeus will one day make you pay [for your behavior]: you could well then perish with impunity inside the house."[26] It is *this* speech that is being referred to in the last lines of Telemachus's response to his mother. The use of the word μῦθος corresponds exactly to the conclusions of Richard Martin's study of terms indicating speech in Homeric poetry.[27] This μῦθος that Telemachus is about to deliver to Penelope's suitors is a speech act, an injunction, an adult gesture of one who until then had been seen as hardly more than a child.[28] This act of language is also an affirmation of authority and a demand for power. Neither Penelope nor the suitors

are mistaken about the importance of what is happening. Penelope is struck by (θαμβήσασα) and obeys the "well-advised" words spoken to her by her son, weighing their meaning.[29] The reaction of the others is of significance: surprise and annoyance—they bite their lips—at the tone and content of this statement. Antinoos is the first to highlight its novelty when he assumes, with perhaps some pointed mockery, that it would have needed the gods themselves to have prompted the young man. Telemachus's μῦθος to his mother is directly linked to and is a consequence of the μῦθος that the young man decided to deliver to the suitors.

It is here that the quotation from the *Iliad* gets its meaning and its piquancy. The rhapsode is clearly deriving a little amusement from dressing Telemachus up as Hector. The suit is too big and the creases are not exactly smoothed out. The expression ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, for example, bears witness to this. In the farewell scene, all the men in question are those who are defending Troy. Hector is the first among them. In the *Odyssey*, the group is defined in another way, with a slight awkwardness in the use of πᾶσι, which should be read as a sign and should be linked to the sudden change in age group, or status, of a boy who until then had not been seen as one of the ἀνέρες. Telemachus and the rest of the men whose business will be this announced μῦθος are not in the same camp, since this "speech" will have the effect of putting them in opposition to each other: Ulysses's son on the one hand, and the suitors on the other. The literal repetition is thereby intentionally much more obvious. It suggests that the μῦθος is really a πόλεμος—that the declaration is really a declaration of war, according to the wish of Athena.[30] What is at stake in the two cases—war and speech—are also linked: Hector and his men *are fighting* to protect their town and its women against the violence of the Achaeans; Telemachus *is speaking* to defend his household (οἶκος) and his mother against the excesses and violence of the suitors. The brusqueness of tone, which critics have excoriated,[31] is neither pure boorishness on the part of the young man nor ineptitude on the part of the author. In painting this character, the poet is clearly playing with the conventions of rites of passage and the traditional portrayal of young people in epic poetry. But the remarks he makes Telemachus utter about what he (the poet) is doing and about the error committed by Penelope when she is reproaching Phemios for the choice of song bear witness both to the virtuosity of the composition of the scene,[32] which undermines the critiques of the poem's author, and to an understanding that the passage is not intended anachronistically to emphasize the awkwardness of a young man's behavior. When Telemachus talks to his mother in these terms, it is to indicate to her that from now on

he intends to fully assume the responsibilities of the head of the household. But he does not speak only for her benefit. His words are aimed at the men around him, who he is preparing to confront, while, as the true son of Ulysses, also carefully concealing the content of his conversation with a guest Telemachus has realized is a god.[33]

According to Peter von der Mühll, the following lines (1.360–4) are not well adapted to the context of Book 1 and have been borrowed from 21.354–8: "wo allein Penelopes Weinen und Schlafen das volle Ethos haben."[34] The repetition certainly demands that the two passages be brought together for comparison, but it is neither mechanical nor secondary, as the analysts would have it. The repetition of nine lines (1.356–4; 21.350–8) is an element in the poetic construction of our *Odyssey*. Penelope's tears are part of the narrative pattern of the Iliadic hypotext, but they also make sense within the Odyssean scene, even if the narrator is cautious about revealing the underlying impulses in the queen's behavior. The shock that takes hold of her has nothing to do with the horror or indignation of a modern middle-class mother being spoken to roughly by her adolescent son. Telemachus's declaration makes clear to his mother that the time for waiting and putting things off is over. She will say this a few days later to the suitors, in the presence of the beggar whose arrival at the palace is intriguing.[35] She will repeat it again to the same beggar after he has confirmed that Ulysses's return is about to happen, although she won't believe it.[36] She understands, in the scene under consideration, that she is going to have to resign herself to acting as though Ulysses were dead—just as Telemachus's words of consolation suggested. Her tears are therefore not out of place, and their cause leads one to be reminded, doubtless with a touch of irony, of the reason why Andromache wept over her still-living husband.

The ensuing calming sleep is the first occurrence of one of the main themes in the *Odyssey*. It has often been remarked that Penelope sleeps a great deal during the poem.[37] But little thought has been given to the fact that insistence on this motif finds its extradiegetic counterpart in the stories of nights, for three years, spent by the queen in unpicking the tapestry she had woven during the daytime.[38] The time has finally come when the suitors have forced her to finish the shroud.[39] Until then, her actions had preserved her love, her son, and Ulysses's rights over his house, as well as prepared for the return and revenge of her husband by ensuring that the desire to take possession of her stayed inside the hearts of her persecutors.[40] The gods now join hands with the men—with Telemachus and later with Ulysses—to bring things to a conclusion. Athena sends the

queen to sleep at the exact moment when the young man starts to *speak* and begins the *fight* against his enemies.

The quotation of the last words Hector addresses to his wife before returning to the battlefield thus has its full meaning in Book 1 of the *Odyssey*. The short scene—prepared by the debates in the assembly of the gods and the visit of Athena to Telemachus—concludes with the image of Penelope's tears and her falling asleep, overwhelmed by the transformation that has overcome her son and the picture of the suitors enthralled by the desire stimulated in them by the queen. It marks the ending of an era and the beginning of a new one. The time of Ulysses's return has arrived. Telemachus takes the speech (μῦθος) back from his mother in order to commence a war (πόλεμος) with the suitors. The story gets under way at this point. It will only reach its conclusion with the archery contest and the massacre of the suitors—allowing husband and wife fully to recognize each other and, even more, permitting Ulysses to resume his royal status.

In Book 21, lines 350–8 are identical, with but one word changed, to lines 356–4 of Book 1 and represent the conclusion of a brief scene that has significant similarities with the scene just examined. Aristarchus did not reject the lines borrowed from Book 6 of the *Iliad* in the text of Book 21 of the *Odyssey*. Over the last two centuries, critics have generally agreed with his judgment. It seemed natural to claim, along with Ulysses's son, that "the bow" is a matter for men, as is war, and one must agree that the poet had reasons to make Penelope leave the hall and go to sleep before the start of the battle. But matters are not so simple. First, one cannot be sure that Telemachus tells his mother that archery is a man's activity merely in order to send her off to her apartments. At this moment in the development of the action, his reasons for intervening as he does are not clear, either; the constraints of the narrative do not constitute a sufficient motivation.[41] If the quotation from the *Iliad* and the following lines are indeed in the correct place in Book 1, one must wonder about the meaning of their repetition, with only a slight variation, in Book 21. Finally, the entire scene that ends with these nine lines is questionable, and it has been suggested that they are either a late addition or the result of a secondary reworking of the poem.[42]

What is the context of Telemachus's *rhesis*? Ulysses has finally returned to his palace. The crucial time has come. The queen, following the plan discussed the day before with the counterfeit beggar,[43] has put the right to obtain her hand in marriage at stake in an archery competition in which Ulysses would excel.[44] The suitors have tried in vain to bend the bow and stretch the weapon's

string onto the free end. When Antinoos gives up his attempt that day and, usurping his host's authority, decides to postpone the competition until the next day, thus temporarily closing the contest,[45] Ulysses cunningly demands that he should be allowed to try out his strength and skill on the bow.[46] His request produces the expected effect:[47] the suitors are fearful and indignant.

The following scene[48] is the one that is of import here. Antinoos replies to the beggar's (i.e., Ulysses's) request with abuse and threats. His insults pull Penelope out of the silence she had maintained since the beginning of the archery contest. She reproaches Antinoos, the leader of the group, for the insults he has lavished on Telemachus's guest and for having dared to imagine the unimaginable—that she could become the wife of this stranger if he happens to be able to bend Ulysses's great bow. The other leader, Eurymachus, replies by giving her a different explanation for the fear the suitors have shown in the face of the beggar's request: the poor repute that they would acquire if, while wooing the queen, they were unable to string the bow belonging to the vanished king, but a passing tramp was able to do so easily. Penelope's response is scathing: the suitors' behavior does not entitle them to public esteem, whereas the stranger is well built and says he is of noble birth; let him be given the bow "so that we can see."[49] And, to reassure—or lead astray—her persecutors, the queen itemizes the rewards she would give to her guest if he succeeded. It is at this moment that Telemachus interrupts his mother regarding one point. His speech has two parts. First, he claims his rightful authority over the bow, denying that any of the Achaeans could prevent him from giving it to the stranger. Second, he invites Penelope to go home and carry out her duties, "for the bow will be a matter for all the men, and for me most of all, for it is I who am master of this house."

His words have exactly the same effect on the queen here as they did in Book 1. Penelope, astonished (θαμβήσασα), goes back to her apartment with her maids and weeps for her husband, until Athena causes her to fall asleep. Eumaeus then takes the bow, carries it to his master (despite the outcries of the suitors), and orders Eurycleia to keep the women locked up in their part of the palace while he closes the courtyard gate. The area is now cleared for the real test and its happy conclusion.

The comparison with Phemius in Book 1 reveals interesting similarities between the two scenes. They are both included in the unfolding of an event they seem to interrupt and slow down, as a digression, whereas in fact they both mark an essential stage in the development of the action. The two scenes are also similar in their content. Penelope's interventions are unexpected and, in both

cases, are fanned by a spoken manifestation of the dominance the suitors have usurped over the house: Phemius's song in the first, and Antinoos's insults in the second. The queen, each time, defends Ulysses and his rights in the face of the stories or words that besmirch his memory or insult him. The voice of the suitors is given a more direct emphasis in Book 21: two of the suitors are speaking here, and Penelope answers them successively. But in both scenes the queen's speeches question the authority her persecutors have taken upon themselves, whether it is in the way in which the banquet unfolds or in the competition that she had arranged. In each instance her statements contain a demand in which she tries to assert her authority—asking the bard to interrupt his song and the suitors to give Ulysses's bow to the stranger. Finally, the last speaker in the two scenes is Telemachus. He criticizes his mother for what she has just said—coming to the defense of the bard, and later denying the suitors any authority over the bow—before inviting her to go home and leave "the men" to take care of things.

This parallelism is underlined by the literal repetition of the nine last lines of the scene. It is neither mechanistic nor accidental. The rhapsode's audiences were supposed to notice it and wonder about its significance. Even the unexpectedness of Penelope's intervention is designed to draw attention to the second scene's function. The series of events set in motion by Telemachus's first declaration to the suitors is about to reach its end. The "speech" (μῦθος) of Book 1 has become the "bow" (τόξον) of Book 21. The circle is closing in. The repetition invites the audience to bring the two scenes together and hear them as almost superimposed on each other. Through the effect of the quotation from the *Iliad* in Book 1, that "speech" could be heard as a declaration of "war." In Book 21, the moment of truth has come. The archery contest provides the hoped-for opportunity. The "bow" will be the first weapon used by Ulysses, and it acts as a metonym for the "war" declared on the suitors by Telemachus in Book 1.

Therefore, in our passage "the bow" does not represent a general activity reserved for men through social convention. In Telemachus's mouth, the word has a more specific meaning. It refers to Ulysses's weapon, retrieved from the treasury by Penelope, and, by metonymy, to the competition begun to decide which of the suitors would marry her. But the assertion that the bow will be a matter for men, and not for the queen, is no more self-evident in Book 21 than when the same thing was said of speech in Book 1. Penelope is the one who took the initiative in arranging the contest; she brought out the weapon and handed it to the suitors; and she decided what was at stake in the competition, as well as

its rules. Telemachus's interruption disrupts the train of events, as it did in Book 1. It changes the sense of the conflict that pits his mother against the suitors. The queen remains within the framework of the competition that she has instituted, and she resists, as always, her enemies' usurpation of her authority over what happens in the house, especially, in this instance, over the use of Ulysses's bow. Moreover, it is also quite possible that she is concealing other thoughts, which can be guessed at from the clues within the story. She has witnessed the inability of the suitors to handle her husband's bow; she has heard the beggar demanding permission to try his strength and skill; she has perhaps not forgotten what he said to her when approving the plan she had just explained to him—that Ulysses would have returned before the competitors succeeded in the test she would set for them.[50] When Penelope asks Eurymachus to give the bow to Telemachus's guest, what does she expect to see?[51] Who else, other than Ulysses, could master the bow and send the arrow through the twelve axe blades? Her son, on the other hand, has understood Ulysses's plan. He brings the contest to an abrupt conclusion by taking control of the bow and sends her mother back to her apartments, because she is now out of the game. The way in which the men will take care of the bow—the future tense is crucial—is no longer up to her. Her stupor (θαμβήσασα) can be explained by that. It is just like the astonishment caused by her son's first adult declaration,[52] but that is not the cause of her reaction now. She knows that she has reached a critical moment for herself and for Ulysses. This crisis is one that she engendered by organizing the contest, but she does not know how things will turn out, and the outcome is beyond her reach.

A few words by way of conclusion. The *Odyssey* quotes the *Iliad*, linking *speech* and *bow* to *war*. Contrary to what the majority of critics have thought, the aforementioned lines in Book 21 work as an explicit and conscious repetition from Book 1. In both passages the words that Telemachus uses to invite his mother to leave the great hall of the palace are not a reminder of the natural division of tasks between men and women. This ideology certainly exists in the background and is implied by what the characters say, but it is not the thrust of their speech. When Hector sends his wife off or when Telemachus invites his mother to leave, there is no emphasis placed on the tasks themselves; rather, the focus is on the particular activity from which *these* men wish to divert *these* women, for reasons that are linked to the situation—these two women are not blamed for having forgotten the place and the tasks society assigns to them. "Homer," to use this conventional designation, does not tell his audience that war, speech, and the bow are not the business of women in general. This is not

true in the last words of Hector to Andromache in the *Iliad*. It is even less so in the case of the two passages from the *Odyssey*. The imitator has understood his model better than the commentators who came much later.[53]

NOTES

1. The manuscript tradition presents two other variations of less importance.

2. Sch. bT ad *Il.* 6.491: διὰ βραχέων βίον καὶ οἰκονομίαν ὑπογράφει σώφρονος γυναικός ("he briefly describes the lifestyle and domestic activity of a woman of good morals"). The contrast between war and weaving is taken up again by Herodotus 4.362 and reversed, with a parodic quotation from Homer, by Aristophanes *Lysistrata*: 506–38.

3. Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, 1: 371, 10s: ὁ ποιητὴς διὰ τοῦ Ἕκτορος γυναιξὶ πρέπειν φησὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα κομίζειν κατ' οἶκον . . . ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ οἰκεῖον εἶναι γυναιξὶ τὴν οἰκουρίαν γνωματεύει ὁ ποιητής (ed. van der Valk 1971).

4. As is the case in Evelthon's reply to Pheretime in the passage from Herodotus cited in note 2, or in the *Economica* of Xenophon.

5. See Rousseau 2003: 39–42, 2011a: 77–86, 2011b: 53–70.

6. *Il.* 6.389: μαινομένῃ εἰκυῖα.

7. *Il.* 6.371: Ἀνδρομάχην λευκώλενον; 377 Ἀνδρομάχη λευκώλενος. The epithet can be seen in one of the expressions that describes Hera, the wife of Zeus and protector of lawful unions. For its paradoxical application to Helen (*Il.* 3.121), see Rousseau 2003: 29. The internal arrangement of lines 6.371 and 6.377, in a ring composition, underlines the irregularity of Andromache's behavior.

8. To put it another way, when Helen and Paris are together in their palace, Hector, it would seem, can only meet up with Andromache outside her home—in the street and, more precisely, near to the gateways that lead to the plain—in a place, therefore, that is practically and symbolically linked to the war and its fatal outcome for the Trojans.

9. *Il.* 6.433–9.

10. Lohmann 1970: 96–7.

11. *Il.* 6.476–81. Contrary to the views of a number of commentators (e.g., Stoevesandt et al. 2008: 150–1 and bibliography, ad 6.475–81: "Das Gebet ist . . . ein Ausdruck neuer Zuversicht"), I do not think that this prayer addressed to the gods indicates a return of confidence and causes a change in Hector's state of mind at this moment in the development of the plot.

12. Hector thus reinforces the argument he previously made to Andromache in refusing the defensive strategy that she had recommended to him (κακός, *Il.* 6.443, 489; ἐσθλός, *Il.* 6.444, 489).

13. It goes without saying that these are arguments that the bard puts into Hector's mouth, as are those that follow. We have no right to assume that this is the

thinking of the poet or the accepted view of the time. Furthermore, Andromache's warning, if the gods had allowed it to be heeded, would have been able to save Troy, as would those of Polydamas in Books 12.211–29, 18.254–83.

14. Scholia ad *Il.* 6.490–3.

15. This is a decisive reason, according to Bolling 1925: 220.

16. Or only failed to do so, as in the case of Ulrich von Wilamowitz in the early twentieth century, because they considered Book 1 to be generally too poor in its entirety to allow a judgment to be made on the authenticity of these lines.

17. S. West 1988: 120, ad 1.356–9.

18. *Od.* 1.154.

19. *Od.* 1.340–2.

20. *Il.* 6.496: ἐντροπαλιζομένη; *Od.* 1.360: θαμβήσασα.

21. Genette 1982: 13–6.

22. U. Hölscher 1988: 40–2, 281.

23. S. West 1988: 120, ad 1.356–9.

24. *Od.* 1.272–6: αὔριον εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσας ἥρωας Ἀχαιοὺς μῦθον πέφραδε πᾶσι, θεοὶ δ' ἐπὶ μάρτυροι ἔστων. μνηστῆρας μὲν ἐπὶ σφέτερα σκίδνασθαι ἄνωχθι, μητέρα δ', εἴ οἱ θυμὸς ἐφορμᾶται γαμέεσθαι, ἄψ ἴτω ἐς μέγαρον πατρὸς κτλ.

25. *Od.* 1.372–4: ἠῶθεν δ' ἀγορήνδε καθεζώμεσθα κιόντες πάντες, ἵν' ὑμῖν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποείπω, ἐξιέναι μεγάρων· κτλ.

26. *Od.* 1.378–80: ἐγὼ δὲ θεοὺς ἐπιβώσομαι αἰὲν ἐόντας αἴ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς δῷσι παλίντιτα ἔργα γενέσθαι· νήποινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ὄλοισθε.

27. Martin 1989: 12–3, 22–6.

28. He is thus in line with what Athena said to him (*Od.* 1.296–7): "You must not continue to behave like a child; that is no longer right at your age."

29. *Od.* 1.361: παιδὸς . . . μῦθον πεπνυμένον. Saïd 1998: 126, 231, rightly highlights the queen's surprise.

30. *Od.* 1.294–302. See de Jong 2001: 39–41.

31. von der Mühll 1940: col. 704: "jedenfalls klingt μῦθος ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει für das ursprüngliche πόλεμος κτλ einfach als Grobheit." See also S. West 1988: "adolescent rudeness."

32. This skill is also considered in passing by von der Mühll (1940: col. 704): "hier spricht der Dichter hübsch aus seinem Bereich." On the poetic "debate" between Penelope and Telemachus, see Pucci 1995: 195–208.

33. *Od.* 1.322, 420. See also the apposite remarks of de Jong 2001: 38, ad 333–5.

34. von der Mühll 1940: col. 704.

35. *Od.* 18.257–71.

36. *Od.* 19.571–81. It is not certain that when Penelope speaks these words to the counterfeit beggar, she was quite as naive as the prevailing interpretation would have it. It is possible that she knows or suspects the real identity of the person she is talking to (see Bollack 2001; Harsch 1950).

37. de Jong 2001: 38, ad 362–4.

38. *Od.* 2.93–109; 19.129–61 (note the framing of the story through the analysis of the present moment, νῦν, in lines 129, 157–61); 24.125–46 (Amphimedon's soul in-

sists on the coincidence between the completion of the tapestry and the return of Ulysses in *Od*. 24.147–50).

39. Bollack 2001: 225–33.

40. *Od*. 1.365–6.

41. de Jong 2001: 519, ad 350–8.

42. See Fernandez-Galiano 1988: 183, ad 311–53.

43. *Od*. 19.570–87.

44. *Od*. 21.63–81.

45. *Od*. 21.256–73. The ritual described in lines 270–3 (=3.338–40, 342) introduces a caesura into the action.

46. *Od*. 21.275–84.

47. *Od*. 21.232–3.

48. *Od*. 21.287–358.

49. *Od*. 21.336: ὄφρα ἴδωμεν. Telemachus uses the same expression before the competition started (21.112).

50. *Od*. 19.583–7.

51. *Od*. 21.336.

52. *Od*. 1.360.

53. I am grateful to Paul A. Simpson (Rochester, Kent, U.K.) for the English translation of my chapter.

Women and War in the *Iliad*

Rhetorical and Ethical Implications

MARELLA NAPPI

Warrior episodes occupy an important part of the narration of the *Iliad*, and it would be impossible to conceive of the poem without taking into consideration the numerous descriptions of battles and duels that occur throughout. Fighting, however, is confined only to men. In the *Iliad*, war is the male activity par excellence. Unlike the Roman epics that portray women as active participants, too (see chapter 9), in the *Iliad* female characters do not fulfill the function of fighters.[1] Their presence is fundamental to the ritual scenes of mourning, where they pronounce the funeral laments and weep for the dead heroes,[2] but the occasions where they play an active role in military action are rare. Their tasks are hardly ever explicitly related to the war: for example, we see Andromache taking care of Hector's horses (8.185–90), but we never see any woman looking after the wounded body of her son or husband.

Despite their discreet presence, however, the female characters in the *Iliad* do not remain outside the frame of epic narrative; they are at the heart of the war, closely and variably involved in the action. Many scholars underline the role women play at the start of the hostilities as a direct cause of the conflict that tears the battlefield apart or as the factor triggering the fights that set the heroes in opposition to each other.[3] Moreover, a victory is often signified by the subjugation and capture of women. The Achaeans also repeatedly pride themselves on having turned more than one Trojan woman into a widow.[4] Conversely, it is a matter of great shame for the heroes when women become prey to the enemy, abandoned to their fate of pain, loss, rape, and slavery.[5] Scenes of men having to fight for women to protect them, as well as in defense of children and old people, are present in various passages.[6] Thus, even if female characters are not part of the main narrative, they act as direct signifiers of the war. They stay in the background, but they motivate the heroes in the latter's exploits. I need not return to the idea that women are both the cause of war (the active element, mostly in the

roles of prizes for the victors) and its victims (the passive element). It would be simplistic, however, not to see other aspects of how female characters interact with the world of war.

The *Iliad* offers a variety of images and metaphors that blur univocal interpretations that would assign men to war and women to the home.[7] From Helen, who weaves representations of war heroes on her loom so as to be the subject of song (3.125–8),[8] to Andromache, who is dying in pain like a warrior (22.448–9),[9] or, conversely, to Agamemnon, whose suffering is compared with the throbbing pain of childbirth (11.269), the *Iliad* constantly joins men and women in the common perspective of the war.[10] In this respect, the image of the capture of the city is especially meaningful, evoking a woman who is reduced to slavery by having her veil torn off, a veil that—in its figurative meaning—refers to the ramparts that protect the city.[11]

In addition to this complex and indirect set of associations and the interplay of femininity and masculinity within the poem, direct statements about war, made by the women themselves and expressed in direct discourse, are scattered throughout the text of the *Iliad*. These foster a tension that sees women sometimes placed in a subordinate role in relation to the military action and sometimes having an active voice in it, but women are always involved in the dynamics of the war. The key issues are whether there is a properly female discourse on the war in the poem, and what role it may play in the *Iliad*'s narrative economy. Far from being confined to the role of possessions or portrayed as silent spectators and victims of war atrocities, women express their point of view and give a voice to the horror that overwhelms them. By their words, they take part in the action that constitutes the narrative fabric of the *Iliad*.

Women have no direct effect on the action and do not change the outcome of events, nor do they exert any influence on the course the war will take. Yet the poem itself invites an approach that takes into account the discursive interventions of the characters, since it is often pointed out that speech is as important as action, even for a warrior.[12] Yet often, when the importance of female characters in the domain of discourse is recognized, scholars nevertheless talk about it in terms of intrusion, as if the remarks that Hector addresses to Andromache in the farewell scene of Book 6—where the hero tells his chaste wife to go back home in order to attend to her proper tasks of weaving and managing the household (6.490–3), leaving the men to handle the affairs of war—were the norm.[13] But for Hector, this is by no means a criticism of his wife for offering advice, nor is that ever in question elsewhere in the poem. Indeed, as Philippe Rousseau suggests (chapter 1), Hector's words (which, in Rousseau's view, refer not to

the war in general, but rather to "the specific battle in which the Trojan are involved," i.e., the battle "under way, whose turn of events had alarmed Andromache") aim to console, calm, and reassure Andromache at a moment when the hero knows his end is near.

I would like to show that, rather than intruding in the epic narrative, the female characters' points of view complicate and enrich an often monolithic conception of the war.[14] We have to pay particular attention to what women say. Their speeches are widely separated from one another and provide only brief interludes in the main course of the narrative, but they become a sort of testimony and commentary on the events and constitute an important element in the development of a discourse about the war, distinct from (yet complementary to) the discourse of fighting heroes. A detail is important in this regard: except for Helen, all the women who speak about the war are Trojan or are captives of the Achaeans. In addition, the episodes that depict the tragedy of Troy are almost entirely related to the speeches of women; the vanquished are therefore almost exclusively represented by women.[15] They thus play a very important role in every scene that takes place in Troy. In this respect, in an emblematic scene from Book 6, Hector returns to Troy in order to engage women in a prayer to the goddess Athena. The wives and daughters of the Trojans all come to meet him when he reaches the Scaean Gates and the ramparts (6.237). They want to know the fate of their sons, their brothers, their husbands. They do nothing other than express their fear and their vulnerability, while listening and finding themselves at the mercy of the rumors and uproar besieging the city. At that moment, in one of his rare first-person interventions into the narrative, the poet adds his own commentary and reaches the point of feeling sorry for the fate of the Trojan women, who must reckon with the terrible and inevitable consequences brought by the fighting madness of men as they await the warriors' return from battle:[16] πολλῇσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφῆπτο ("yet over many sorrow hung," 6.241). The term κήδεα, which bears the general sense of "woes" and suggests the cares and sorrows of war as well as, more specifically, the mourning and honor given to the dead during a funeral,[17] directly casts a sinister light on Troy. Book 6 states, in advance, that many Trojan women will have to mourn the dead heroes. "Mourning is 'tied' to the Trojans; it is inescapable, even though they do not yet know it."[18]

Among this crowd of women destined to mourn and wait, some still manage to dramatically express themselves. Andromache (6.414–28) and Briseis (19.290–7) openly denounce the atrocities where they were the powerless victims and do not spare any details regarding the ravages made by Achilles, who destroyed their families and left them helpless and overwhelmed with grief.[19] Yet their sto-

ries, which contain a series of commonplaces about the fate suffered by women during war and females' dependency on men, concern not the Trojan War being played out before their very eyes, but the raids that belong to the past, to a story prior to the *Iliad*.

What happens when it comes to expressing oneself about the war that harries the walls of Troy? Mourning scenes, showing the customary practice of women wailing over the dead heroes, are the ones where the link between female figures and war is made particularly explicit. On these occasions, while denouncing the terrible consequences of the war, which condemns them to the status of lonely women deprived of support, they also point out with pride the preeminent position that the valiant hero occupies in the community: they celebrate his beauty, his military qualities, and his civic virtues.[20] Through this mixture of admiration and criticism, women consecrate the renowned future of the heroes, their κλέος.[21]

The speeches that female characters utter in private contexts, not ritual ones, are just as significant. Most often, women externalize their emotions in order to persuade their interlocutors to consider their fears and anxieties about the fate that awaits them. But sometimes they also speak in order to help the heroes: they provide information, advice, and consolation. The poet recounts several mediation attempts by female characters, taking the form of either recommendation or supplication, two methods of intervention that play on a different rhetorical strategy and remind the heroes of their military and familial responsibilities. The speeches addressed to Hector by women in Books 6 and 22 of the *Iliad* are emblematic in this regard, since they reveal not only the women's perspectives on the war but also their manner of interacting with the dynamics of that war.

Book 6, which features the return of Hector to Troy, allows the poet to enter into the intimacy of the besieged city, thanks to the hero's three successive meetings with his mother Hecuba (6.251–85), his sister-in-law Helen (6.313–68), and his wife Andromache (6.392–502). The requests that the three women bring to the attention of the hero are conventionally regarded in scholarly literature as attempts to retain him in Troy and turn him away from the war. Above all, while these supplications are not identical in terms of their purpose, they should not be interpreted in terms of a polarity between a male-oriented world of war and a world of peace, represented by women.

When Hecuba sees her exhausted son coming back from the battle, the mother "of kindly gifts" (ἠπιόδωρος, 6.251) helps him recover by offering him wine to regain his strength (6.261–2) and, at the same time, advises him to pray to the gods for a favorable outcome to the battle (6.256–60). Her words are not meant

to detain Hector, but to give him sufficient rest after his labor and assist him in his task as a warrior. She even displays her maternal pride toward the hero, who defends his companions in the "bold fighting" (πόλεμον θρασύν, 6.254), where the epithet θρασύς refers semantically to Hector and draws attention to one quality, courage, that is closely related to his status as a warrior. In a similar vein, Helen wishes to persuade Hector to stay, since she knows he will pay for the mistake she made with Paris. So, as a good hostess, she invites him to sit and rest "with gentle words" (μύθοισι προσηύδα μειλιχίοισι, 6.343) that express both her admiration and affection. In effect, Hector displays the quality of bravery that is signally lacking in Paris, who cares nothing for either his reputation or his community's indignation (6.349–53).

The invitations of Hecuba and Helen are declined by Hector, however. The formulae they employ have striking similarities and show that if, in both cases, the invitation to linger is a temptation for Hector that could weaken his warrior strength and undermine his martial prowess, the hero does not hesitate to urge his interlocutor (ἀλλὰ σύ, 6.269, 363) to take responsibility for the difficult situation faced by the city. That is to say, Hector confers certain tasks on the two women that release him to return to the locus of the war, as he must. In the case of Helen, Hector assigns her the responsibility of urging Paris to recommence the hostilities immediately (6.363–4). Hector speaks to her as someone who can assist him in the success of his mission. As for Hecuba, Hector instructs her to address a prayer to Athena, so that the goddess, on whom the salvation of the Trojans depends, will stop Diomedes's exploits (6.269–80).[22] By refusing to drink the wine offered by his mother, Hector seems to contradict her statement that wine makes a tired man stronger (in fact, what he means is that he is not tired at all and that drinking wine would just be a waste of his time). On the other hand, Hector offers some quite plausible motivations (6.266–70) in declining her invitation for him to pray to Zeus, since it is not appropriate for him to do so when his hands are covered in blood from the battlefield. Even if she is out of line and ineffective in this regard, the voice of Hecuba is not necessarily alien to the world of war. Besides, Hecuba does not fail to express her view of the city's enemies, whom she qualifies as δυσώνυμοι ("having odious names, of a bad omen," 6.225). The term is almost equivalent to a curse: the prefix δυσ- expresses a sense of evil that, in this case, is not only the evil that someone can be subjected to (the unfavorable fate of the Trojans exhausted by the Achaeans), but also something that one wishes on one's enemies. Hecuba shows her concern regarding the fate of her son—and of Troy itself, at such a difficult time for the

Trojan army—not only through the prayer to Athena, but also through this violent exclamation.

When Hector finally meets Andromache on the ramparts of Troy near the Scaean Gates, his wife does not limit herself to welcoming and advising him, but also makes a moving appeal that morphs into a harrowing supplication. Her request, delivered in tears, is a much more important issue than Hecuba's and Helen's advice. In this reunion scene, Andromache takes Hector's hand into her own (6.406) to express her fears and concerns about the imminent danger that would deprive her of the most precious things in the world, her husband and her son. By beseeching him not to leave her a widow and their son an orphan (6.407–9, 431–2), she projects a future of death and envisions herself in the role of a widow. She can foresee only more suffering in her near future (ἄχεα, 6.413). If Hector dies, the logical consequence will be that Andromache will become a slave (at 24.731–4, Andromache again talks of the life she will lead as a slave). Andromache hopes to soften Hector's will and asks for his mercy (ἐλεαίρεις, 6.407; ἐλέαιρε, 6.431) by recalling the long series of misfortunes that have already overwhelmed her. She describes the way in which she lost the protection of all the members of her family, so Hector can understand that he has become her one and only resort, her "stalwart husband" (θαλερὸς παρακοίτης). Her words contain both the memory of a painful past and a warning of impending misfortune, since Andromache acknowledges that Achilles is not only the cause of all her former anguish, but also the most insidious threat to her future happiness. If Andromache reminds Hector of the ferocity that Achilles displays toward his enemies, it is to make Hector understand that he will have to endure the same suffering Achilles had inflicted on Andromache's family. In words full of evil omens, she begs Hector not to return to battle and to avoid exposure by withdrawing to the ramparts. Andromache delivers strategic advice to Hector (6.433–9), showing that his wife also cares about the survival of Troy. She advises her husband to adopt a defensive strategy: he should stay inside the citadel, while ordering the army to be stationed near the wild fig tree so as to protect the most vulnerable section of the walls, where a group of Greek warriors has already attempted an attack.

This passage has been the object of critical censure since antiquity, most often in connection with the legitimacy of the proposals Andromache offers. Aristarchus (and many modern scholars) have considered the passage to be an interpolation, because any type of military advice was "unfitting" (ἀνοίκειοι) for a woman (Aristarchus even affirmed that is showed Andromache rivaling Hector

in generalship).[23] I argue instead that two aspects of her advice must be emphasized. First, the strategy that Andromache proposes to Hector not only finds an echo in the advice of the Trojan seer Polydamas (18.273–9), but, what is more, it is precisely the one that Hector himself used to employ in the past, according to Achilles (9.352–4). Second, her request for Hector to defend the city from the inside is less about denying his status as a warrior and more about advising him to fight with caution. From the beginning of her supplication, Andromache reproaches Hector for his excessive pride, calling him by the familiar apostrophe δαιμόνιε (6.407),[24] which encompasses both the recklessness and the tragedy of Hector. The certainty that death awaits him is immediately expressed by the reference to his μένος, this heroic attitude that will inevitably lead him toward his end.[25] Her assessment becomes clearer in the image of "all Greeks" rushing against Hector: a tribute to his military prowess (which requires a simultaneous effort by the whole enemy army), but also an attempt to scare him by giving him a glimpse of a proximate and inevitable death.

Andromache again expresses a mixture of admiration and criticism at the end of Book 22 (22.450–9), when the wife of Hector wakes up from her reassuring torpor, sheltered by the intimate silence of domesticity, and at last becomes aware of the death of the hero. Even if, during the young couple's discussion in Book 6, Andromache had admitted to and confessed her fears and terrible premonitions of the evils awaiting both Hector and herself, she still has to return to the same place, on the ramparts, to realize the legitimacy of her fears with her own eyes.[26] In Book 6, Andromache predicts what she will later be the last to see and realizes when it will actually happen. In Book 22, Andromache is weaving at her loom in the interior of her home. When she hears the wailing on the walls, she immediately concludes that Hector has been cut off, solo, by Achilles, and she rushes to the wall like a maenad. Despite the fact that her only concern at that moment is to see her husband again and to be allowed to reintegrate him into the calm and peaceful space of their home, she finds herself thrown into the world of war and its atrocities. It is on this occasion, during a scene that highlights the contrast between everyday life and war, that Andromache poses the question of Hector's heroism. She emphasizes the value and exceptional courage of her husband (θρασὺν Ἕκτορα, 22.455), who was second to none in μένος and ran well ahead of the others (πολὺ προθέεσκε, 22.459). Along with her praise for the unique value of Hector and admiration for his courage, however, Andromache also gives the reasons for his loss: if Hector has met his destiny, it is because of his excessive heroism, which led him always to distinguish himself from the masses, to put himself forward, standing alone (μοῦνον is in an emphatic posi-

tion at the beginning of 22.456). Pride is therefore mingled with other painful implications of the hero's character, clearly expressed in his response to Andromache in Book 6: only by fighting in the forefront can one win "great glory" (μέγα κλέος), a stated goal of the hero (ἐσθλὸς / αἰεὶ καὶ πρώτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι, 6.444–5). In this regard, the expression Andromache uses to describe Hector's behavior, "sad prowess" (ἀγηνορίη ἀλεγεινῇ, 22.457), is remarkable. Andromache explicitly mentions Hector's ἀγηνορίη as the cause of his death (also note that at this moment Andromache already speaks of Hector in the past tense). Unlike ἠνορέη, which is a positive quality connoting a socially responsible form of a warrior's courage, the term ἀγηνορίη denotes excessive manliness (ἄγαν + ἀνήρ) in a pejorative sense: one that leads to antisocial or self-destructive behavior, that is, a lack of solidarity on the battlefield and of cooperation for the common good.[27] War demands cohesiveness among all men in the group. The epithet used to describe the bravery of Hector, "sorrowful, causing pain" (ἀλεγεινῇ), presents a grievous aspect of his immoderate and individualistic behavior, as an excess liable to lead to harmful consequences for Andromache and the people of Troy. The term explicitly focuses on the grief (ἀλγός) that Hector's ἀγηνορίη will generate for Andromache and the Trojans.

The same premonitory clarity, as well as a call for mercy and prudence that attempts to convince Hector to change his mind, appears in the supplication that Hecuba addresses to Hector at the beginning of the Book 22, where she, in turn, gives him some strategic advice just before his fatal duel with Achilles. Her request is specified in the space of a line and a half: ἄμυνε δὲ δήϊον ἄνδρα / τείχεος ἐντὸς ἐών, μὴ δὲ πρόμος ἵστασο τούτῳ ("[remember it now, dear boy—] / beat back that savage man from safe inside the walls! / Don't go forth, a champion pitted against him," 22.84–5). Here Hecuba tries to persuade her son to seek refuge within the walls of Troy and thereby renounce his plans to engage Achilles in single combat. She addresses Hector in the vocabulary specific to supplication scenes when a soldier asks his enemy to spare him his life, thereby showing respect and compassion. Her speech is based on a genuine process of persuasion that aims to affect Hector by emotionally involving him and compelling him to consider his duty through αἰδώς and ἔλεος (22.82–4). By appealing to her son's compassion and inviting him to return to the walls, Hecuba does nothing more than pursue a request already made not only by Andromache (in Book 6), but also by Priam (22.33–78). This means that a call for caution and defensive strategy is not just the prerogative of women, but rather of all those who do not act as fighters in the poem. Moreover, Hecuba adopts the posture of an earnest suppliant and goes as far as exposing her breast in order to invite her son

to respect her age and her role as a mother. Hecuba weeps and uncovers her breast—the breast "that causes one to forget the pain and stop the tears" (λαθικηδέα μαζόν)—to remind him (μνῆσαι, 22.84) of the αἰδώς that he owes to the mother who bore him. Yet she can only seek metaphorical contact with her son, since Hector is far away, at the bottom of the ramparts. Hecuba can talk about her actions, but she cannot give them a physically binding force. The only possible contact between mother and son is the one that memory can help forge. Nothing can stop Hecuba from trying to convince her son to change his mind, because she knows that Hector's death is inevitable if he does not renounce his duel against Achilles. The incessant repetition of τέκνον in the vocative case (τέκνον ἐμόν, 22.82; φίλε τέκνον, 22.84; see also φίλον θάλος, 22.87) only adds to the pathos for Hecuba, as do the allusions to continuously flowing tears (22.79, 81, 87, 90): those that mark the present, and those that threaten the future with the endless suffering that awaits her from now on. Metaphorically, Hecuba's gestures of supplication also carry an aggressive quality, since she reminds Hector that he is a man, and therefore that he is mortal; it is precisely this vulnerability that Hector refuses to accept, despite knowing that he is moving toward death. Hector wants to be a hero, not a man: he refuses "to be dissuaded by precisely the sign of his own mortality, . . . his mother Hecuba's breast."[28]

As in the case of Andromache's plea, Hecuba's words and gestures are not simply a rejection of Hector's heroism and his quest for glory. Her first concern is her inability to give her son a worthy funeral: οὔ σ' ἔτ' ἔγωγε / κλαύσομαι ἐν λεχέεσσι ("never shall I lay you on a bier and bewail you," 22.86–7). Like Andromache, Hecuba urges Hector to come within the walls, but she concludes not with a prediction of what will happen to her when he dies, but with the observation that neither she nor his wife will be able to weep for him on his bier. Hecuba tries to induce Hector to feel pity, pushing him to imagine his mother and wife, the two chief figures involved in the ritual of mourning, being painfully prevented from grieving for him. But she also tries to arouse feelings of fear. She paints a frightening and overwhelming scenario, where Hector could face the worst fate for a hero: to die on the battlefield, far from his family, and be devoured by dogs. In order to terrify Hector, she points to the degradation of his ravaged body as both a threat to a noble death and an obstacle to his imperishable glory. It is precisely this mutilation, this antifuneral threatening the heroes, that Hecuba seems to fear even more than the death of her son, since it would deprive Hector of the last honors of the dead (the γέρας θανόντων) and a worthy burial. Heeding Hecuba's words means not only to respect her as the mother who gave birth to him, but also to avoid a nonheroic death. Thus

Hecuba, in her plea, is not limited to emotional arguments, to pathetic and tearful tonalities. Her fears are real, and her recommendations lucid. Her words, charged with a terrible prophetic significance, lay out the awful fate that awaits Hector, whose body will be abandoned to the ravaging of dogs and birds.

Just like Andromache in Book 6, Hecuba foresees the disaster and tries to use it as an argument to reason with the hero. She hastens to put the terrible and cruel reality before Hector's eyes, but her son cannot understand its gravity. One term is particularly significant in this regard: σχέτλιος (22.86).[29] The interpretations of which person the adjective applies to are not unequivocal. The word also appears in the supplication of Priam (22.41), where it refers to Achilles, underlining his cruelty and thus signifying a true indictment of him. Although—at first glance—it seems more likely that in Hecuba's supplication the repetition of a word previously used by Priam bears the same meaning he gave it, and that σχέτλιος is an insult addressed to Achilles, I prefer to apply the epithet to Hector.[30] In Priam's supplication, the hatred felt for the enemy is at the forefront, while Hecuba, in her speech, makes reference to Achilles very briefly, via a circumlocution (δήϊον ἄνδρα, 22.84). Only after the death of her son is Hecuba's fierce pain expressed in an almost animalistic explosiveness: in a violent emotional outburst, she shows her passionate longing for revenge, her desire to push her mouth into the bowels of Achilles, a man whom she would like to eat in order to avenge the horrible fate he reserved for her son (24.212–4). Hecuba, portrayed as a devourer of the enemy's raw flesh, and Andromache, represented as a maenad who is beside herself,[31] are two symbolic images of the horrors of war and its excesses: two images that can reflect the emotional upheaval brought about by the consequences of war. By apostrophizing Hector as σχέτλιος, a reminder of the apostrophe δαιμόνιε addressed to him by Andromache in Book 6, Hecuba particularly wants to stigmatize his cruel obstinacy, a source of sorrow and calamity.[32] Yet it is an affectionate reproach, expressing the disapproval of his mother, similar to the one that Achilles addresses to the dead Patroclus (18.13).

Andromache and Hecuba are the two main female characters on the Trojan side. By having them remind Hector of the dangers he will incur if he should follow his code of honor, and by endowing them with sage advice and reason, Homer shows that women not only understand what is happening in the male world of war, but also that, as victims, they are in an excellent position to judge and predict its most atrocious consequences. In Book 22, Hecuba's speech enunciates a vision of Hector's death and the merciless treatment that will be inflicted on him by the terrible Achilles; and, as with Andromache's military advice in Book 6, commentators in antiquity had already noticed that her view was

sensible.[33] Hector dies because he has foolishly taken an overly aggressive stance in battle. Nevertheless, the approach taken by Andromache and Hecuba has no impact on the course of the action. Neither the arguments of his wife nor those of his mother have any effect on Hector's conduct; he is unwavering in his desire to fight in order to reach supreme glory (6.440–66; 22.90–130).

Thus these two female figures, who invite the hero to contemplate the horrors of war in advance and depict terrifying scenarios in a compelling manner, take on a tragic relief, since they stand alone and unheeded in the accuracy of their fears. Nonetheless, if the supplications of Andromache and Hecuba have no effect,[34] this has less to do with their inability to convince Hector than the impossibility of achieving their goal: their failure shows the inflexibility of the hero who, while sharing the pain of his relatives, does not consider their fears to be important enough to put a stop to his actions. He refuses to retire and blindly persists in the single combat where his destiny is death. Hector is the rampart that protects his country, the main defender of Troy, yet he is willing to give up his family in order to devote himself unreservedly to a heroic ideal that, only at certain moments, actually coincides with the salvation of his city. For Hector, honor is more important than survival. In response to his wife, Hector states that he cares for her more than for anyone else in the world, but he has learned that he must always be brave and fight in the front lines. His code of honor will not allow him to follow her advice, even though he knows that the consequences of his actions will lead not only to his death but to a life of slavery for her. Hector cannot stay safely behind the walls, as Andromache and Hecuba suggest, because he is ashamed of what the men and women of Troy will say about him.[35]

In this regard it is significant that only the words of Cleopatra, wife of the hero Meleager, are an example of effective female supplication. Her request is reported to Achilles by Phoenix (in Book 9), who seeks to persuade the hero to go back to fighting. Meleager and Cleopatra had locked themselves inside their home and remained deaf to all the entreaties of friends and family, who urge the angry Meleager to come to the aid of his city in the war against the Kouretes. When fire breaks out and the walls of the city are in danger, Cleopatra, in turn, begs her husband to act and finally persuades him to do so. To achieve her goal, Cleopatra describes the pain of war and the horrors that follow a defeat, emphasizing the most touching details that are likely to make her spouse react (*Il.* 9.590–6):

καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἐΰζωνος παράκοιτις
λίσσετ' ὀδυρομένη, καί οἱ κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα

κήδε', ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἁλώῃ·
ἄνδρας μὲν κτεένουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
τέκνα δὲ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.
τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ ἔργα,
βῆ δ' ἰέναι, χροΐ δ' ἔντε' ἐδύσετο παμφανόωντα.

And then, finally, Meleager's bride, beautiful Cleopatra
begged him, streaming tears, recounting all the griefs
that fall to people whose city's seized and plundered—
the men slaughtered, citadel burned to rubble, enemies
dragging the children, raping the sashed and lovely women.
How his spirit leapt when he heard those horrors—
and buckling his gleaming armor round his body,
out he rushed to war.

Cleopatra calls to mind first the men who die on the battlefield; then the city, besieged and devastated by fire; and, finally, the fate of the women and children left inexorably to the mercy of the vanquishers. The last line marks the climax of emotion, particularly through the play of a semantic echo produced by the compound adjective βαθυζώνοι, which describes "deep-girdled" (9.594) women raped by the enemy. This epithet recalls the reference to "fair-girdled" Cleopatra, ἐΰζωνος παράκοιτις (9.590), and, through a metaphor equating the city under assault with a woman's loosened veil, anticipates the fall of the city. The repetition, with variation, foreshadows the same fate that awaits the wife of Meleager if her husband does not return to battle. The dramatic evocation of the horrible consequences of war (κακὰ ἔργα) persuade Meleager to yield to the pleas of his wife (9.595).

The rhetorical talent of Cleopatra has, without doubt, great persuasive force. Yet it could not, in itself, explain the success of her supplication. The arguments put forward by Cleopatra to bring Meleager back to the fight call to mind the words addressed by Priam to Hector in Book 22, when the king evokes the destruction and defeat of Troy, focusing on the suffering of the conquered inhabitants (22.59–65). The picture drawn by Priam is appalling (Priam portrays the fate of an undefended old man in a town that is being captured), but he does not succeed in making Hector react. Therefore, it can be neither the narrative of the unbearable horrors of war nor the way they are presented that allows Cleopatra to achieve her goal. If Cleopatra succeeds in convincing Meleager (and Patroclus Achilles), while neither Andromache nor Hecuba nor Priam are able to persuade Hector, it is because she encourages Meleager to fight, to take up arms and

achieve his κλέος. It is the prospect of the glory awaiting him that—in the last analysis—justifies Meleager's resolution to return to the fighting, and Cleopatra is there to remind him, most convincingly, through her very name.[36]

The presence of women watching and/or commenting on the fighting is emphasized during a number of different phases of the war. If the incursion of female characters into the male world of war occurs only incidentally, through various scenes with and acts by women alternating with the fighting, their presence invests the narrative framework with an emotional involvement that highlights the perspective of the vanquished, who are represented often, but not exclusively, by female characters. Indeed, the fact that most of these speakers are Trojan women allows the poet to devote several scenes to the viewpoint and utterances of those characters who experience the war as helpless observers and thus do not interfere with the military action. In this regard, it is significant that a considerable number of the women's speeches are uttered near the city's borders, at the ramparts, halfway between home and the battlefield. The reasons that might have prompted the poet to choose the ramparts as the privileged site of the female voice are obvious. The ramparts constitute a place apart from everyday life, exterior to it, in a space that is closer to war than to peace; they represent a medial setting that is also a meeting place, a focal point in the world of war, but one that should not be confused with the real space in which the heroes decide their fate.[37] The women's speeches are closely connected with war, however, and are very consistent. They have a private dimension, reflecting individual emotions and affective ties, but they also have an important social dimension, involving the core values of a heroic society. Women speak in order to defend their own personal destiny, but they do not forget the price the whole community has to pay for the war. The scenes in which female characters appear constitute a kind of counterpoint to the excitement of battle. And it is worth remarking that it is women who speak the last important speeches in the poem; it is their assessment of the effects of defeat that Homer's audience is left to contemplate.

These necessary and feared figures act and speak from the margins of the male community, but they play a major role as powerful witnesses of the war. Even if their words, in the world of war, are doomed to remain either unanswered or uninfluential, women enrich the narrative framework and introduce new modes of thought and expression. When they do speak, they offer precious insights into the position of noncombatants within the martial atmosphere of the poem. Despite the fact that female figures are not prominent in the *Iliad*, their

words provide an important outlook on the need for compassion, moderation, and negotiation, revealing all the demands and contradictions of an heroic war.[38] Behind the truths, uttered in vain, of these women who understand, suffer, and express their thoughts, there surely is, if not a message, at least a moral reflection on the world of war and the conflicts that tear apart a warrior society. In this way, Homer, through his female characters, succeeds in avoiding a simplistic, unambiguous, and reductive interpretation of the war.

There is a considerable difference, however, between the speeches of the Trojan women, who fear for their fate and that of their city and are about to suffer the worst consequences of the war, and the speeches of Helen, which instead reveal an indifference (*ex silentio*) toward the outcome of the conflict and the consequences it has for both populations. For Helen, war is the mirror not only of her own guilt but also of her own glory (at 6.357–8, she is highly conscious of her future role in epic poetry; see also 3.125–8). Helen is the cause, the challenge, and the goal; it is for her that heroes accomplish their exploits. Yet she achieves what no other woman does in the poem: she turns our attention to the meaning of the war that men undertake for her.[39] There are many passages where Helen blames herself, expressing her feelings of shame and self-disgust. Beyond the rhetorical appeal of this plaintive modality specific to Helen,[40] the poet, through the sharp reproaches Helen addresses to herself, manages to give war its most critical dimension. All of the insulting terms that Helen uses in characterizing herself belong to the semantic field of death and suffering, and they often describe the war itself. A significant passage is found in Book 6, where Helen addresses very strong criticism toward herself and expresses feelings of guilt. Her imprecations are concentrated in a single verse: δᾶερ ἐμεῖο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης ("My dear brother / dear to me, bitch that I am, vicious, scheming," 6.344). Calling herself a "dog" (6.344, 356; see also κυνῶπις, "dog-eyed," i.e., a shameless woman, 3.180),[41] Helen thinks of the original fault that led her to Troy (her union with Paris), which only an impudent woman could have committed. The Helen of the *Iliad* keeps her wrongdoing at a distance, not in order to deny it, but to highlight her awareness of her actions and the horrible consequences that they produced. But adultery, her abandonment of family, and, in a nutshell, her ignorance of αἰδώς, are also closely related to the disasters of war. The adjectives κακομηχάνος and ὀκρυόεις present Helen as a "craftsman of misfortune," as "mischief-plotting," just like the "mean quarrel" (ἔριδος κακομηχάνου, 9.257) from which Peleus advised Achilles to withdraw. They also describe her as a "horrible, chilling, frightful" woman, like "the epidemic war that freezes the

heart" (πολέμου . . . ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος, 9.64). Thus line 6.344 condenses three terms that contribute to the negative association between Helen and the threats represented by war and violent death. This stigmatizing connotation is also implicit in the expression στυγερὴν ἐμέ (3.404), which Helen applies to herself. The adjective στυγερός, "hateful, abominable, loathsome," evokes the infernal river Styx and refers to the war in almost every one of its applications[42] including in a metaphorical way: as a shadow that captures and carries off the life of the dying warrior,[43] or even as death,[44] sickness,[45] old age,[46] mourning.[47] This epithet is also associated with characters who are related to war and death, either directly (e.g., Ares[48] and Hades)[49] or indirectly (e.g., the Erinyes).[50]

Helen is therefore allied with death in its most grievous essence, since her past conduct is a mirror image of the war. Achilles, "the best of the Achaeans," confirms this when he declares that he is fighting against the men of Troy, in a foreign country, "for the sake of the horrible Helen" (εἵνεκα ῥιγεδανῆς Ἑλένης, 19.325). The phrase *hapax* ῥιγεδανός, "which makes one shudder with fear, which inspires horror," is well suited to Helen, who is a "visual reminder of death and suffering."[51] Helen—goddess and mortal, a dual character, the in-between, placed between two societies, between two nations, and, even, positioned at the crossing of two traditions (one of them an ethos of blame)—embodies the ultimate paradox of war: while adhering to the values of moral heroism (see also 6.337–9, as well as 3.427–36, where she urges her husband toward the battle), Helen is also the character in the poem who expresses the harshest criticism of the war and its consequences. Moreover, she is the only one who regrets not being dead before the war (and the poem) begins.[52]

If no other woman in the poem disparages Helen (despite what the latter says in 3.411–2), it is because criticizing Helen means questioning the war and its very foundations. The Trojan women never beg their men to surrender her, and they must accept the reasons that drive the males to fight. The war is a reality that women cannot place under discussion. What they propose is mediation, not a solution for the ongoing conflict. This role becomes obvious in the collective prayer that the Trojan women address to Athena, who is invoked as the goddess protector of the city (ἐρυσίπτολις, 6.305). The prayer for the besieged city is an attempt by women to interfere with the course of events and not be mere spectators, but it also a means through which they can act in accordance with the modalities permitted to them.[53]

Therefore, an analysis of the words uttered by females allows us to consider the diversity of these women's forms of involvement in the war and the links they have with it: they generate, endure, and are subjected to war, like the children

and the old men,[54] but, through their stories, their comments, and their wailing, the women of the *Iliad* contribute to the organization of the action and ensure their own (poetic) survival at the same time as that of their heroes.

NOTES

1. The goddesses, however, not only openly want war, but sometimes they also descend onto the battlefield (e.g., Athena, who frequently fights at the side of her favorites). Moreover, we cannot forget that it is Thetis who gives weapons back to Achilles, so he can start fighting again; she actively intervenes to enhance the honor and glory of her son. Homer mentions Amazon warriors who came to the aid of the Trojans, but their most important incursion into the war occurs after the *Iliad*'s conclusion (narrated in the epic poem *Aethiopis*).

2. See *Il*. 2.700; 5.412–5; 7.79–80; 11.393; 14.501–2; 17.36–7; 18.28–31, 122–4, 339–42; 19.282–302; 21.123–4; 22.79–90, 352–3, 405–8, 429–37, 475–515; 24.166, 710–76. As prominent mourners, women "help to ritualize" the major themes of the *Iliad* (see Foley 2005: 112).

3. We know the roles of Chryseis, Briseis, and especially Helen, who is the prime mover of the war. The Achaeans maintain that they want to avenge the tears of Helen (*Il*. 2.356 = 2.590) and that, because of her, they perish at Troy (*Il*. 2.161, 177).

4. For example, Diomedes claims that the widows' torn cheeks prove his glory (*Il*. 11.393). See also Achilles (*Il*. 9.327; 18.122–4).

5. See *Il*. 3.301; 4.238–9; 8.165–6; 9.594; 16.830–2; 20.191–4; 22.62–5; 24.729–32.

6. See *Il*. 5.485–6; 8.55–7, 165–6; 15.496–7; 17.220–8; 18.265; 21.586–8; 24.215–6.

7. Loraux 1981b and Monsacré 1984, among others, have highlighted the complex interweaving of femininity and masculinity within the poem. Nonetheless, several passages in the *Iliad* define the battlefield as a privileged arena for men, especially when the heroes do not hesitate to take women as a foil. In order to insult and ridicule a hero, Homeric characters can accuse him of behaving like a woman (see *Il*. 2.235; 7.96; etc.). See also Nappi 2006a.

8. Helen's weaving depicts the trials the Trojans and the Achaeans experience on her behalf. See Nappi 2013.

9. See Segal 1971a.

10. We find the same kind of reversal in the *Odyssey*, where Penelope is compared with a perfect king (*Od*. 19.108–114) and Odysseus with a women reduced to slavery after the death of her husband (*Od*. 8.523–31).

11. See *Il*. 2.117–8; 16.99–100.

12. See the famous passage at *Il*. 9.443.

13. See, for example, sch. bT ad 6.491. On this passage, see the analysis proposed by Rousseau (in chapter 1 and note 33 below).

14. Even if the heroes do not express themselves in the same way on the subject of heroism (e.g., the heroic code Sarpedon describes to Glaucos (*Il*. 12.310–28); or

Hector's prescriptions (*Il.* 6.441–65, 22.99–130), it nonetheless remains true that war brings men glory and renown. It gives them an opportunity to exhibit their strength and prowess. In the *Iliad*, men are defined almost exclusively as warriors.

15. See, in this regard, the reflections of Fabre-Serris about Seneca's *Trojan Women* (chapter 6).

16. See *Il.* 2.136–7; 5.688; 14.503–4; 17.27–8, 207–9; 18.330–2; and so forth.

17. See Mawet 1979.

18. Kirk 1990: 192.

19. See Nappi 2012.

20. See *Il.* 22.430–7, 475–514; 24.723–46, 748–60, 761–76.

21. This is a word that for women indicates suffering, grief, bereavement, but means "bearing glory" for the heroes. See Easterling 1991; Nagy 1979: ch. 6.

22. See Nappi 2006b.

23. Sch. A ad 6.433–9.

24. For the application of this apostrophe, see particularly the study of Brunius-Nilsson 1955: 37: "δαιμόνιε can be used in very different contexts, in the extreme cases even in those which can be regarded as complete contrasts. The word is used to friend and foe, to a superior and a subordinate, in conditions of war and peace, to express reproach and praise, love and hate, and so on."

25. Kirk 1990: 214 remarks: "μένος here is not so much his physical strength as the rash, and heroic attitude it gives rise to."

26. Andromache goes back to her duties, as Hector suggests, but she is not reassured by Hector's speech. She fears for the safety of her husband and, along with the slave women, she mourns his death, even though he is still alive (*Il.* 6.496–502).

27. This behavior also characterizes Achilles (ἀγήνωρ; see *Il.* 9.398, 699) and it is significant that the epithet ἀγήνωρ refers to the arrogance of the suitors in the *Odyssey* (see *Od.* 1.106, 144; 2.235, 299; 16.462; 17.65, 79, 105; 18.43, 346; 20.284, 292; 21.68; 23.8). In this regard see Graziosi and Haubold 2003.

28. Murnaghan 1992: 249.

29. For a discussion of the semantics of this term in Homer, see Hohendahl-Zoetelief 1980: 53.

30. The Alexandrians already disagreed on the attribution of the epithet. These doubts result in part from the punctuation.

31. See *Il.* 6.386–9; 22.460–1.

32. Wilson 1971: 293 accurately associates σχέτλιος with τλήμων, an adjective that in Homer principally means "firm, daring, reckless," and he affirms that, "connected with σχεθεῖν, it implies a withholding of one's natural reactions of pity and fear, and in Homer is used for any inhuman attitude, whether of cruelty or of courage. In this it of course resembles the basic sense of the root τλα-, which involves a forcing or steeling of the emotions for action or endurance."

33. Sch. T ad 6.434. See Rousseau (chapter 1, note 13), who observes that "Andromache's warning, if the gods had allowed it to be heeded, would have been able to save Troy, as did those of Polydamas in Books 12.211–29 and 18.254–83." Contrast this with Aristarchus (sch. A ad 6.433–9), however, who saw Andromache's words as a

transgression of the feminine into the masculine world of war. He not only considered them inappropriate (ἀνοίκειοι) but also claimed that they were false (ψεῦδος περιέχουσιν).

34. In Book 24, Hecuba's attempts to dissuade Priam from going to the camp of the Achaeans in order to ask Achilles for Hector's body. See Nappi 2011.

35. See *Il.* 6.442; 22.105.

36. Homerists have often stressed the parallelism between the names of Cleopatra and Patroclus, both of them a compound formation referring to the "glory" of the "ancestors" (see Bouvier 2002: 353–5; Nagy 1979: 102).

37. See the discussion by Fuhrer (chapter 3) of scenes of women watching war from the city walls.

38. Sometimes heroes, too, do not take only the warrior aspects into consideration and instead criticize the excesses (*Il.* 1.177; 5.891; 11.654; 13.634–9; 16.31, 203; etc.). On this, see Griffin 1987.

39. We should not forget that in the *Odyssey*, Helen technically interferes with the war in the form of trickery, during the horse episode.

40. About this question I refer the reader to my book, *La parole des femmes dans l'Iliade*, forthcoming from Belles Lettres, Paris.

41. Dogs are also associated with Hades, since they feed on human flesh.

42. See *Il.* 4.240; 6.330; 19.230.

43. See *Il.* 5.47; 13.672; 16.607.

44. *Il.* 23.79.

45. *Il.* 13.670.

46. *Il.* 19.336.

47. *Il.* 22.483.

48. *Il.* 2.385; 18.209.

49. *Il.* 8.368.

50. *Il.* 9.454.

51. Clader 1976: 47.

52. See *Il.* 3.173–6; 6.344–8; 14.764–5.

53. The prayer by Theano and the Trojan women is among the few examples that the poem offers of a prayer unanswered by Athena. In addition to the various motivations that I provided in my analysis of the passage (Nappi 2006b), the failure of the women's prayer is still a way to remember that even for interventions requested through the ritual procedures associated with Athena, female speeches are clumsy and inefficient.

54. See *Il.* 3.146–53, where the elders are gathered at the Scaean gates to watch the war.

Teichoskopia

Female Figures Looking on Battles

THERESE FUHRER

The view from the battlements or towers of a city when a war is being fought before its gates is in some ways comparable with what a spectator sees when looking from the seats of an amphitheater down into the fighting area of the arena. It is an outsider's perspective on the combatants, be they warriors in an army or gladiators. In the places where the fighting occurs—before the gates of a city or in the arena—representatives of the two parties face each other, with the aim or duty of conquering the opponent(s) collectively or in single combat. In single combat, the victor is the one who kills or forces the other into an inescapable position. In collective battles, the side that forces the other to give up is the winner; generally this means that a series of fighters in the opposing collective are individually defeated, and some are killed.

There is a clearly defined distance between the combatants on the battlefield or in the arena and the spectators watching them from the ramparts or from the seats in an amphitheater. This distance is delineated by architectural constructions—the city walls or the benches for the audience—that permit a view from above. This distance in space is also characterized by a raised position and, hence, a specific sightline.

Supporters, either sitting in the spectators' area of the amphitheater or standing on the ramparts, have their favorites among the combatants, cheering them on, excitedly following their actions, being pained when they suffer, and feeling either sadness at their defeat or happiness at their victory. Supporters are not direct participants in the combat, but they are in the same spatial setting and are emotionally involved in the events.

City Walls as a Grandstand for Viewing Heroes

In contrast to the spectators in the amphitheater, however, the people on a city's walls, anxiously following the combat on the battlefield in front of its gates, gen-

erally support only one of the opposing sides, given that the other side has approached the city with hostile intentions—as attackers.[1] Often the people on the ramparts are linked to one or more of the combatants through personal or family ties, which is not usually the case in the arena. The figures in these scenes are not watching the fighting for the sake of entertainment. They are women and old men who cannot or may not any longer join the fight themselves. They feel the suffering of the combatants in the battle because the life and death of their loved ones is at stake, as is their own fate. Battlements and towers are not—like the seats in the theater—constructed so that combat, as an entertaining spectacle, can be observed from a safe position; their purpose is to protect the people of the city from hostile incursions. City walls thus become a grandstand only in a secondary sense and retain their primary function as a bulwark against attack. The men able to participate in combat must also protect those who are watching and, because the former can see their "spectators" from below, that is, the families for whose survival they are fighting, the people on the walls may take on a paraenetic function.[2]

The view from the ramparts thus generally presupposes a particular scenario: a hostile army is approaching the city and the men of fighting age have left the protection of the walls and present themselves to the enemy for combat on an open battlefield. Old men and women look down from the walls, fearing for their relatives and, if the enemy is visibly more powerful, for themselves.

In the following discussion, I investigate a variety of texts in which the situations and groupings of figures are staged on a literary plane. The teichoskopia ("view from the walls") type scene enables a specifically female focalization of the event that stands at the center of an epic or dramatic action, in which male actors, including the protagonists, find themselves at the center of the audience's gaze. This technique of a reversal or displacement of perspectives offers an opportunity to describe the struggling heroes collectively or individually, while simultaneously offering outside information about them and displaying others' reactions to the events. Depending on the female's relationship to the contending warriors, the treatment of war can be charged with confidential, intimate knowledge and with positive or negative emotions. Ordinarily, this reversal of perspective is interpreted as a method employed to characterize and profile the male figures.[3]

I show that female focalization is used in the context of epic narrative or dramatic action not only to describe a battle and its heroes and make emotional associations with them, but also to comment on the dark side and negative consequences of the phenomenon of war. The female figures in such scenes are the

most prominent heroines of myths, or represent the strongest enemy of Rome. Thus the representation of their view from the walls, as well as their reactions to the course of the combat, is a method of profiling the female actors in the wider context of a work, whether literary or historical.

The familial and emotional ties of the figures on and in front of the walls, and the social, political, and military prestige that is at stake, are some of the factors that can be combined in different constellations in a teichoskopia and can be used to comment directly (in the narrator's voice) or indirectly (e.g., from the point of view of those watching from the walls) on the phenomena of war, power, death, and suffering. In such scenes the viewing public is doubled, as it were. The process of perceiving the portrayed action is inscribed into the text and becomes a part of the action. Hence the act itself—viewing and reacting to events—becomes an object of literary commentary.

Women Viewing Battles

The point of view of the spectators on the walls is defined both by their spatial distance from the action and by a familial or emotional tie or proximity either to individuals or to one of the two opposing sides. Their literal or figurative view of things is determined by age and gender, as well as by marital, parental, fraternal, and/or erotic love. My discussion concerns how the female point of view is used in these male-authored teichoskopia scenes, that is, how the relationship between spatial distance and emotional proximity of a female figure on the ramparts and one or more combatants on the battlefield is elaborated in the works being examined. I focus on the narrative passages and sequences of action in which the description of a battle is internally focalized, specifically when the only observations presented are those of female figures.[4] The central issue is the question of how this view from the walls, with its fixed location at a spatial distance from the events of battle, which nonetheless are visible, is used by the narrator to comment indirectly on those events.[5]

For my analysis I have selected four texts that offer exemplary displays of this form of authorial commentary: viewing battles and war through the eyes of women. Two of the passages contain the most famous teichoskopia scenes in Greek and Latin literature: Helen's view from the walls in Book 3 of the *Iliad* (with a glance at Andromache's similar function in Book 22), and Medea's observation of Jason contending on the battlefield in Book 6 of Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*. Perhaps the most spectacular example is Antigone, on the walls of Thebes, in Book 11 of Statius's *Thebaid*.[6] But first I will introduce this literary procedure with a passage from Horace's second *Roman Ode*. It is atypical of tei-

choskopia scenes in that it is inserted into a lyric text, but it is one that nevertheless repeatedly recurs in epic discourse.

Horace's *Second Roman Ode*

Horace begins with a *paraenesis* into which he has set an unexpected change in the point of view (*C.* 3.2.1–14):

Angustam amice pauperiem pati
robustus acri militia puer
    condiscat et Parthos ferocis
        uexet eques metuendus hasta

uitamque sub diuo et trepidis agat
in rebus. Illum ex moenibus hosticis
    matrona bellantis tyranni
        prospiciens et adulta uirgo

suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum
sponsus lacessat regius asperum
    tactu leonem, quem cruenta
        per medias rapit ira caedes.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:
mors et fugacem persequitur uirum.

The boy must be toughened by hard campaigning
to learn to endure poverty happily,
riding against fierce Parthians,
spreading terror with his sword,

and living in danger under open sky.
When the mother of a warring king and the maiden
grown to womanhood gaze at him
from the walls of the enemy city,

let them sigh their sighs for the royal bridegroom
new to the ranks, in case he rouse the lion
it is death to touch, whose anger whirls him
in blood through the thick of slaughter.

Sweet it is and honourable to die for one's native land.
Death hunts down even the man who runs away (trans. D. West 2002).

The Roman youth, steeled by military service, should learn the limitations imposed by material hardship and challenge the "wild" Parthians, "instilling fear with his spear" (*metuendus hasta*), and should spend his life in the open air, in dangerous situations (1–6a). An example is given of the kind of situation to which the young warrior should be exposed and in which he should prove himself: a battle scene under the walls of an enemy city (6b–12), probably a Parthian one, to judge from line 3.

The Roman *puer* is presented as the object of the gaze of both the warring king's wife or mother[7] and of a young woman (*uirgo*, 8), the bride either of a prince fighting on the king's side or of the king himself (*sponsus regius*, 10); they are to be imagined as being on the city walls. The speaker's wish is that this young woman should be troubled and should anxiously hope (*suspiret*, *eheu*, "sigh, alas," 9)[8] that her "royal betrothed" (10) does not challenge this wild (Roman) lion and thus risk provoking his anger and battle frenzy. The young Roman is likely to become a feared warrior, but in this case it is not the fear of his *male* opponent that is described, but that of his opponent's loving bride. The poet, in the statement where the young woman hopes her lover will not provoke the (Roman) warrior, ascribes knowledge of the Roman's dangerousness to her. Hence it is not only the men on the battlefield who should recognize and fear the Roman's warlike qualities, but also the family up on the walls.

The Roman, as perceived by the young woman, even becomes a wild animal that will create a bloodbath if provoked. She wishes that her lover will not have to fight with the fiercest warrior in the enemy army: the Roman Achilles, so to speak. She does not wish to be a spectator to a bloody and, for her betrothed, probably fatal duel. The Parthian prince or king and the Roman youth, the "lion," stand on the battlefield in front of the city, the "stage" of this rampart spectacle. From the perspective of the women on the wall, the *puer* is the enemy, while from the perspective of the first-person speaker and the Roman reading public, the enemy is the young prince or king.

In these few lines, the teichoskopia scene clearly signals the desired consequences of Roman military discipline but presents this from the point of view of the opponents' families. The Romans should not only be respected and feared by the (male) opponent on the battlefield, but also by his female family members. From their point of view, the consequences of Roman military prowess are purely brutal: danger, fear, and suffering. The *uirgo*, who is betrothed to the prince or king, extends this into a fear for an entire people; there is concern that the result of the battle may have existential significance not only for the young woman, but also for the royal dynasty, which is represented by the *matrona*[9] who

is also present on the walls. The military fierceness that the Roman is supposed to acquire is depicted in these few lines, along with the chain of consequences for the enemy, including in civic matters.

No claim is made here, however, that the Roman *should* bring suffering to the enemy's family through his well-trained military discipline. The lines of the poem do not state that he should kill the enemy and thus bring sorrow to the bride, the mother, and, as a further consequence, the entire nation. The *paraenesis* of the *puer* does not go that far. Rather, the change in the point of view at l. 6 makes it possible to formulate the wish of the opponent's bride: that there be no combat between her betrothed and the dangerous Roman at all. The Roman's ferocity should be a deterrent, dissuading potential opponents and thereby preventing war. At least, this is how it is seen from the perspective of the opponent's loving bride, a figure who is given a prominent place in the ode.

What follows is the poem's much-debated line: *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (13). After the troubled, female view of the unfortunate prince or king and the superior Roman youth, this line can only be understood as an antithesis to the preceding passage, in that is not only good to conquer and kill, "[but it is also] sweet and honorable *to die* for one's country." The possibility of being killed also exists for the Roman, but here the consequence is not his family's sorrow, but glory and service to his country, even in death. The problems raised by this statement will not be discussed here.[10] Nonetheless, it seems to me that, given the preceding teichoskopia scene, the dark side of this heroic ethic is brought out, too, with the perspective of a potential victim's family given a prominent position. These are admittedly the enemies of the Romans, but they are feeling, suffering people all the same. If the bride's fear for the Parthian warrior—the suffering caused by death—is also read in line 13, then the value of the Roman's heroic death, too, is relativized: can glory and honor (*dulce et decorum*) for one's fatherland (*patria*) eclipse and obscure the feelings of a loving woman?[11] The banal, and therefore not explicit, conclusion is: "*Even for a Roman* a woman will worry and will grieve if he is killed." But, if the next line (14) is taken together with the preceding one, the warrior's heroism is potentially destroyed altogether: line 13 turns a Roman killer into a Roman death, and line 14 presents a Roman in flight.

Helen

The teichoskopia here is an epic scene, found for the first time in Western literature in Book 3 of the *Iliad*. Helen, a Greek, is at the loom in her Trojan home when she is called away to the city's walls to watch the single combat between

Menelaus and Paris in which she is at stake. The goddess Iris evokes within Helen an erotic longing for Menelaus (*Il.* 3.121–40). On the battlements of the Skaian Gate, Helen encounters a group of older Trojans, including Priam (3.145–50). In this scene, interpreters have generally been interested in the description of the Greek heroes below the walls, as told by the well-informed Helen, who draws on her insider knowledge. This gives the narrator a chance to show the elderly Trojans staring in wonder, from their grandstand on the walls, at the Greek warriors who can then be presented as a parade of heroes (3.171–242).[12]

Here, however, I am not concerned with Helen's role as a Greek among the Trojans, but with the question of how she relates to the warring men in her role as a woman and a wife and, in her case, as the motive for and object of the military engagement. What is Helen's position at this point? She is the wife of the Trojan prince Paris, who stands on the battlefield and is about to fight for her; thus she is the daughter-in-law of elderly King Priam, present with her on the ramparts. She displays a measure of trust toward Priam by providing him with information about the Greek heroes that are seen from the walls of Troy.[13] At the same time, however, she is the former wife of Menelaus, Paris's one-on-one opponent, for whom she now feels erotic desire.

While Helen and the elderly Trojans stand on the ramparts, Priam is called down to the battlefield to take part in the religious ritual through which the terms of the single combat will be established (3.245–58). Through this summons for Priam, Helen's situation is again made clear, as told to her briefly by Iris: the solo battle between Menelaus and Paris will settle which of them will have her as his wife (3.253–5), as well as deciding which side will be the victor, thus ending the whole war.

During the fight, which Menelaus wins, Helen remains on the ramparts. The account of the fight (3.326–82) is not told from her point of view, however, although she evidently has observed the events. In contrast to Menelaus, Helen also sees how Aphrodite rescues Paris when he is losing. That is stated later, both in her answer to Aphrodite, who sends Helen to see Paris in his bedchamber, and in Helen's harsh response to Paris (on which more below). The course of events that are to follow should now be settled: there is a clear winner, so Helen could return to her former husband Menelaus and the war would be over. But Aphrodite calls Helen back into the house to go to her husband Paris, who is already in the bedchamber (3.389–94). There the outstandingly handsome Paris lies on a magnificent bed (3.391–2); in this situation, resistance is useless. Helen's angry speeches, first to Aphrodite, who wishes to prevent Helen's return to

Menelaus (3.403–5), and then to Paris, make it clear that she regards her current husband as a loser and failure (*Il.* 3.426–36):[14]

ἔνθα κάθιζ' Ἑλένη κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
ὄσσε πάλιν κλίνασα, πόσιν δ' ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ·
"ἦλυθες ἐκ πολέμου· ὡς ὤφελες αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι
ἀνδρὶ δαμεὶς κρατερῷ, ὃς ἐμὸς πρότερος πόσις ἦεν
ἦ μὲν δὴ πρίν γ' εὔχε' ἀρηιφίλου Μενελάου
σῇ τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχει φέρτερος εἶναι·
ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν προκάλεσσαι ἀρήιφιλον Μενέλαον
ἐξαῦτις μαχέσασθαι ἐναντίον· ἀλλά ς' ἔγωγε
παύεσθαι κέλομαι, μηδὲ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ
ἀντίβιον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι
ἀφραδέως, μή πως τάχ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δουρὶ δαμήῃς."

Helen, daughter of Zeus who drives the storm-cloud, sat down on it
but refused to look her husband in the face and attacked him:
"So you are back from the battlefield—and I was hoping you had fallen there
to the mighty warrior who was once my husband!
You used to boast you were a better man than warlike Menelaus—
a finer spearman, stronger in the arm. Go and challenge him
to fight again, then! But if you take my advice,
you will think twice before you offer single combat to auburn-haired
Menelaus—or you may end by falling to his spear" (trans. P. Jones 2003).

Paris dismisses her criticism in a few words (3.437–40) and then begins to seduce Helen by telling her of his great sexual desire; finally, she follows him into the marriage bed (*Il.* 3.442, 446–50):

"οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὧδέ γ' ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν
. . . . . .
ὥς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ."
Ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἄρχε λέχος δὲ κιών· ἅμα δ' εἵπετ' ἄκοιτις.
Τὼ μὲν ἄρ' ἐν τρητοῖσι κατεύνασθεν λεχέεσσιν,
Ἀτρείδης δ' ἀν' ὅμιλον ἐφοίτα θηρὶ ἐοικὼς
εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα

"Never has such desire overwhelmed me
. . . . . .
never till now have I felt such desire for you, or has

such sweet longing overwhelmed me."
He spoke, and made a move towards their elaborate bed, leading her to it.
His wife followed him,
and there the two lay down together.
Meanwhile Menelaus was prowling through the ranks like a wild beast,
trying to find godlike Paris (trans. P. Jones 2003).

The spatial distance, that on the ramparts divided her from *both* fighting men, has now been bridged, but only in the case of Paris; in relation to Menelaus, the distance remains. For while Helen and Paris make love and thus overcome all distance, Menelaus wanders around the battlefield looking for Paris, who has absconded (3.448–61).[15] Helen's view from the walls, seeing Menelaus's victory and Paris's failure, does not determine her behavior. Instead, the decisive point is the encounter with her current husband in the bedchamber; even though Helen was eroticized toward Menelaus through Iris's intervention, she now gives way to Paris's seduction. So Paris is the victor *in eroticis*, or, ultimately, the Love Goddess is the victor, made manifest in a beautiful man.[16]

In other words, two men duel over a woman and the woman watches; her ex-husband wins; at this point she *could* decide the outcome of the war (and shorten it) by returning to him, and she now even desires him; but then she joins the loser's side. She recognizes and articulates her present husband's defeat but still goes to bed with him. Helen calls Menelaus "Ares's favorite" (ἀρηίφιλος, 3.430, 432), the one who is the more powerful fighter on the battlefield; but Paris is an outstandingly beautiful man, who uses flattering words and calls on her to join him in sexual pleasure (3.446). The narrative is a dramatization of sexual victory, which leaves the military winner literally running round in circles. The man in the role of warrior hero has to take second place to the man in the role of antihero.[17]

So the war will continue and claim more dead.[18] These will include Hector (in Book 22), whom Andromache will only see again from the ramparts as a dead man, as he is dragged by Achilles through the dust around the city walls—making him clearly visible to the spectators on the battlements (22.462–5).[19] The teichoskopia scene here creates a situation where a woman in the battle-theater arrives at the grandstand too late and sees only the staging of the opponent's triumph, in which her dead husband is forced to take a role. Andromache misses the heroic part of the "theater" in which her husband suffers a "beautiful death" on the battlefield; she sees only the corpse, already desecrated,[20] so for her the loss of his life is devoid of all meaning. This is made clear in her lament

and through the internal focalization of the narrative (22.477–515): there is no room here for pride in her husband's heroic death, only for the grief of a wife, the daughter of a king and mother of a child who is now half orphaned.

Antigone

Perhaps the most spectacular teichoskopia scene in ancient literature is that of Antigone in Euripides's *Phoenissae*, which Statius reenacts in Book 7 of his *Thebaid*.[21] Antigone's gaze is not that of a loving wife or consort, but of a loving sister. She is in a situation similar to Helen's, in that she, too, might take the side of either of the two men fighting each other. In contrast to Helen, Antigone does not appear as an informant but instead receives information from her companion (called Phorbas in Statius), so she—like Priam in the *Iliad*—represents the point of view of the uninformed spectator in a drama or the reader in an epic.[22]

Statius does not pass up the opportunity offered by teichoskopia for the presentation of a specifically female point of view, however. In Book 11 of the *Thebaid*, he has Antigone again rush onto the walls at the moment when her mother Iocasta is trying to persuade Eteocles, who is inside the walls of Thebes, not to fight off the attack by his brother Polynices. Antigone looks down on the troops below the walls and sees her brother Polynices (*Theb.* 11.359–65):

> utque procul uisis paulum dubitauit in armis,
> agnouitque (nefas!) iaculis et uoce superba
> tecta incessentem, magno prius omnia planctu
> implet et ex muris ceu descensura profatur:
> "comprime tela manu paulumque hanc respice turrem,
> frater, et horrentes refer in mea lumina cristas!
> agnoscisne hostes?"

> She hesitated a little when she saw the weapons far away / and recognized (unspeakable!) Polynices attacking the building / with javelins and proud voice, and beforehand she fills everything / with a great wail and addresses him from the walls as if about to come down: / "Hold back your weapons in your hand and look back for a little at this tower, / brother, and turn your dreadful crest to my eyes! Do you recognize your enemies?" (trans. Lovatt 2006: 65).

From her position on the walls, Antigone attempts to catch Polynices's attention. That is, she does not merely gaze down from the walls onto the battlefield, but tries, as a spectator, to communicate with one of the players and thus overcome the distance created by the wall (*ex muris ceu descensura*, "as if she wanted

to leap from the walls," 11.362)[23] and intervene directly in the action of the battle. She succeeds in this by speaking (*profatur*) to Polynices and calling on him to turn and look at the "tower" (*respice turrem*, 11.363). Polynices is asked to look up to the ramparts and he does so, turning the hitherto unidirectional line of sight in the teichoskopia into a reciprocal spectacle.[24]

With the rhetorical question *agnoscisne hostes*? ("Do you actually see *enemies*?" 11.365), Antigone clarifies the implicit question of what the relation is between her, as the woman on the walls, and the combatant. Through this and her other comments, she elucidates the unusual situation of the aggressors against Thebes: the walls do not mark an unambiguous border between friend and foe. For she herself is, as she adds later, suspect in the eyes of the king, her other brother (*suspecta . . . regi*, 11.371). The absurdity of this war is made visible spatially through a situation in which her brother Polynices stands before the city as an attacker while she, his sister, stands on the walls—the walls that are there to protect her from him.

The two siblings begin to overcome this spatial distance; Polynices weeps, his anger abates, and he is ashamed of his actions (11.382–7). But at this moment Eteocles storms through the gate in the walls and sets upon him, driven by battle frenzy (*subito cum matre repulsa / Eumenis eiecit fractis Eteoclea portis*, 11.387–8). Despite his mother's immediate proximity to him—they were both *in* the city—Iocasta was not able to restrain Eteocles from fighting against his brother.[25] Antigone's communication from a distance—from the walls—was more successful; the situation below and in front of the walls had made the shameful aspect of the situation clearly visible. But Eteocles "breaks through" the wall by racing through the gate, thus removing the barrier that, until then, had prevented fratricide. He was not *on* the wall but *behind* the wall; hence the traditionally female perspective on the events of the battle was not accessible to him. This creation of a point of view linked to topography therefore acquires an epistemological significance: without a view from the walls, the combatant lacks the insight that this battle can only be absurd.

Medea

The best known teichoskopia scene in Latin literature is probably that of Medea in Book 6 of Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*. To help Jason win the Golden Fleece, Medea must fall in love with him, according to Juno's plans. One step along the way is a war between Medea's father and Perses, in which Jason and his Argonauts must fight as allies. Juno takes the form of Medea's sister Chalciope and, in this guise, urges Medea to go up to the city walls to watch the

fighting between the Colchians and Perses's attacking army. Juno-Chalciope claims that it is Medea's duty to get to know her father's allies (*Arg.* 6.482–7). Teichoskopia thus becomes one of a woman's specific duties.[26] Nonetheless, the sights and sounds of battle disturb the young princesses (*Arg.* 6.503–6):

> ast illae murorum extrema capessunt
> defixaeque uirum lituumque fragoribus horrent,
> quales instanti nimborum frigore maestae
> succedunt ramis haerentque pauore uolucres

> But they made for the edge of the walls
> and, struck motionless, they shudder at the crashes of men and trumpets,
> just as birds sad at the pressing cold of the clouds
> perch on branches and stick there in fear (trans. Lovatt 2006: 68).

The two women, like birds that cling to the branches of a tree when frightened by a harsh storm, stand transfixed on the battlements of the city, staring in horror at the fighting.[27] In the text they are characterized as sheltered, innocent young girls who had, until now, never been confronted with the brutality of war on the battlefield. The figure of Medea is thus modeled here in a way that clearly distinguishes her from her later appearance as a sorceress who will have no qualms about any killing.

In the subsequent description of the combat, however, this presentation of a female point of view is abandoned (6.507–74). It is only when Medea sees Jason that the description is once again internally focalized (*Arg.* 6.575–82):

> Ecce autem muris residens Medea paternis
> singula dum magni lustrat certamina belli
> atque hos ipsa procul densa in caligine reges
> agnoscit quaeritque alios Iunone magistra,
> conspicit Aesonium longe caput ac simul acres
> huc oculos sensusque refert animumque fauentem,
> nunc quo se raperet, nunc quo diuersus abiret
> ante uidens.

> From up on the wall, Medea, perched on her bench, looks down at these various scenes of combat, picking out those princes she knows and can recognize, but at Juno's prompting, she spots the splendid stranger, Jason, whose actions she follows, gazing with eager eyes as he runs this way and that (trans. Slavitt 1999: 126).

That events are perceived from the viewpoint of Medea is clearly stressed a number of times (*lustrat*, 6.576; *agnoscit*, 6.578; *conspicit*, 6.579; *huc oculos sensusque refert*, 6.581; *uidens*, 6.582). Medea "sees" Jason as a hero; even when her eyes seek her brother or her fiancé, it is Jason who comes into view (6.584–6).[28] She herself sharpens this focus even more by asking her "sister" Juno-Chalciope about this man whom, in fact, she already knows.[29] The reply encourages Medea to follow Jason's fighting even more closely (6.601), because he will not be staying in Colchis for long.[30]

The bloody fighting that follows and Jason's *aristeia* are described in the mode of zero focalization, but Medea's reactions are included again and again, so that even this conventionally epic depiction of battle can be read from Medea's point of view: she follows him with her gaze, she delights in his successes, and, ultimately, she is overcome by erotic frenzy (*Arg.* 6.657–8663):[31]

> at regina uirum (neque enim deus amouet ignem)
> persequitur lustrans oculisque ardentibus haeret.
> . . . . . .
> et saeuae trahitur dulcedine flammae.
>
> From the top of the wall, the princess' bright eyes follow the hero in whom the fire of Juno is raging hotter than ever . . . She feels herself yielding to delicious fancies that shimmer in the tongues of her heart's flame (trans. Slavitt 1999: 128).

After Juno-Chalciope's departure, Medea remains on the walls alone: *imminet e celsis audentius improba muris / uirgo nec ablatam sequitur quaeritue sororem* ("But Medea does not think to follow her sister. More boldly she leans out over the wall," 6.681–2, trans. Slavitt 1999: 129). Medea can now "lean out"[32] over the edge of the grandstand and watch without inhibitions, behavior that receives negative commentary from the authorial narrator in the epithet *improba*. The remaining combat is experienced by her from Jason's point of view (6.684–9), and she fears for him (as is noted in a retrospective observation at the end of the book) throughout the whole long battle (*longum uirgo perpessa timorem*, 6.754).

Medea becomes a spectator at an *agon* in which one man alone is the winner in every situation; thus he attracts her admiration and love. Teichoskopia creates a stage for Jason's heroism that—together with Venus's girdle—eroticizes the woman. Her behavior is now that of a spectator in the arena,[33] excitedly supporting her hero and hoping he succeeds against his enemies, which also means that he kills them. The text does not describe her taking any pleasure at the

death of an opponent, which would be too strong a break from her role as an innocent young girl who has just fallen in love. Yet she is not distracted by the death of the Scythian Myraces, fighting for her father, or by the battle *aristeiai* of the other Argonauts (*Arg.* 6.717–20):[34]

> haud secus ante urbem Myraces atque ipsius ante
> uirginis ora cadit. sed non magis illa mouetur
> unius aegra metu quam te, Meleagre, furentem,
> quam Talaum uidet aut pugnas miratur Acasti. 720

> No differently [than other heroes] did Myraces fall before the city and before the face of the girl herself. But sick with fear for one man she is not moved any more than if she saw you in your madness, Meleager, or Talaus, or wondered at the battles of Acastus (trans. Lovatt 2006: 76).

Whereas Medea had trembled at the tumult of battle when she first climbed up to the ramparts (6.503–6), now killing, cruelty, and suffering no longer shock her. She is only concerned about the "one" (6.719), and all that interests her is whether her hero is victorious, that is, whether he survives by killing others.

Book 6 had already begun with epic depictions of battle in which cruelty and killing are regular features, but at the moment when the two women climb up to the wall, we, as readers, perceive the descriptions of the combat entirely or partially from a female point of view. The mode of depicting combat nonetheless remains the same. The reaction of Medea (or of the implied reader) to a victory by the favored single fighter or to the defeat of an opponent also remains the same: success for the Argonauts is desired. Yet the presentation from a female point of view, and thus the functionalization of the events for Juno's plans, gives an unpleasant flavor to Medea's pleasure at the victories and killings. Indifference to the suffering and death of the combatants becomes scandalous, since it is now explicitly shown from the perspective of a still shy young girl. The heroes' *aristeiai* become a mere theater of killing, and the female spectator becomes the victim of a brutal, but successful, staging of male heroism.[35]

In a situation in which Medea watches her adored man killing others, the parameters of her role shift. Not only has the figure of the sheltered, nervous girl seeing battle for the first time been transformed into an eroticized woman who fears for the life of her beloved, but feelings and motives are also ascribed to her that no longer apply to the typical role of a young woman in love. The ability to perceive killing as a measure related to the victory of one's own side is characteristic of a—generally male—participant in a war. A soldier *must* go into battle

with the intention of killing and conquering. In this case, however, the functionalization of killing is ascribed to the spectator, Medea. This could be justified with reference to the way the character of Medea is conceptualized in the mythographic tradition. Here the young Medea is given traits that will be key elements constituting her later role: she herself will be prepared to kill to protect Jason, and ultimately she will kill their children in order to destroy him.[36]

Yet the metamorphosis of the innocent girl into a woman indifferent to killing has a significance beyond the myth: it is characteristic of the viewing public's situation at any combat scene, whether it be spectators at gladiatorial fights in the arena in former times or viewers of modern cinema and television. A hero, with whom the spectators are supposed to identify, has to win, and to win he must kill others. By attending solely to this goal, the viewers become indifferent to the brutality of the actions.

The perversion of moral norms that leads to a situation in which the life of the favored hero seems more valuable than that of other people is not left unchallenged in classical epics.[37] In Valerius Flaccus's text, the phenomenon is presented through a female figure who is initially given the outlook of an innocent girl, so that her shift to find a positive value in killing can be portrayed all the more clearly as a deformation.

Conclusion

A teichoskopia scene permits combat to be depicted from the point of view of a woman who is not a participant in the fighting. Generally, however, she is close to one or more of the combatants, as spouse, sister, or loving admirer; hence the result of the battle or single combat—the victory or defeat of her husband, brother, or beloved—also affects her personally. Teichoskopia thus offers an opportunity to articulate the fears and suffering of the "relatives" through internal focalization, as in the case of the prince's or king's fiancée in Horace's *Roman Ode*, Andromache in Book 22 of the *Iliad*, and Antigone in Book 11 of Statius's *Thebaid*. On the other hand, through the reaction of a woman in love, the importance of military victory relative to the power of love can be questioned (Helen in Book 3 of the *Iliad*), or the perversion of values that takes place in the light of an admired man's *aristeia* can be pointed out (Medea in Valerius Flaccus).

In so doing, the texts make use of the various social roles of the wife, bride, beloved, mother, and sister; these are also important in the broader context of the narrated situation or event. In Horace's *Roman Ode*, the mother and bride are on the opposing side (from a Roman point of view) and evoke the serious

dynastic consequences that a war against Rome could have for the Parthians. In the *Iliad*, Helen is made erotically aware of her ex-husband (the victor) during the actual combat, but then goes to bed with her current husband (the loser). This draws out the anomalous, bigamous relationship to both men that Helen always has in the Trojan cycle, since she was the cause of the war and is now the reason for its continuation.[38] Statius's Antigone takes the side of Polynices, who is just as much her brother as is Eteocles, the king of the city Polynices is attacking. Antigone thereby shows that she is prepared to breach boundaries and norms for Polynices. At this point in the narrative, in essence she already is the Sophoclean Antigone who sets her love for her brother above all other family relationships.[39] Right from the start, Valerius Flaccus's Medea, eroticized in relation to Jason, reveals her indifference to the death and suffering of everyone who stands in the way of her and Jason's love; the scene is also a foreshadowing of her later acts in support of her beloved, for whom she deceives her father and kills her brother.

The texts, however, do not formulate any explicit criticism of the wars they observe; the purpose and necessity of a war is never explicitly questioned. The view from the walls—which, on the one hand, is constituted by its distance in space from the combat and, on the other, by the familial and/or emotional proximity between the (generally female) spectators and the combatants—enables reflection on the further consequences of war, beyond victory, honor, and virility. These consequences are never positive.[40]

NOTES

1. In contrast to the arena, where each of the opposing parties has its fan club, the spectators on the ramparts generally only hope for victory by their own side. An exception is Antigone in Statius *Theb.* 11. Zissos 2003: 668–9 (with nn31, 32) sees the teichoskopia scene in Valerius Flaccus 6 as a "gladiatorial show with Jason as the star performer" and as a "reconfiguration of battle as a kind of mass entertainment"; but cf. Lovatt 2006: 67n25. See also note 33.

2. Lucan has Pompey refer to this motivating function of female spectators in his address to the troops before Pharsalus: the soldiers should imagine that their "mothers" are cheering them on from the walls of Rome (7.369–74, esp. 369–70: *credite pendentes e summis moenibus urbis / crinibus effusis hortari in proelia matres*). In Livy's account of Philip V in battle against the Athenians and Attalos, he was seized by the idea that the walls of the city of Demetrias were full of spectators admiring him (*quod ingenti turba completis etiam ad spectaculum muris conspici se pugnantem egregium ducebat*, 31.24.13).

3. See the references to the teichoskopia type scene in the literature cited elsewhere in this chapter, especially Baier 2001; Fucecchi 1997; Krieter-Spiro 2009; Smolenaars 1994; Zissos 2003. Lovatt 2006, 2013 are important studies for the interpretation proposed here.

4. In this chapter, I do not propose to discuss further the points that the authors of the texts I examine were exclusively male and that the epic tradition is defined as masculine, so this "female point of view" need not be "truly female," as Lovatt 2006: 59–60 stresses (with references to further relevant works in her bibliography). My concern is with the question of how roles that are modeled as female in these texts, and are often also presented as typical, along with the corresponding (male) expectations of these roles, are deployed to create "other" points of view. See also note 25.

5. A woman's perspective may also be articulated through speeches, but this—in contrast to the creation of specific points of view in teichoskopia scenes—can be independent of setting and location.

6. Among the teichoskopia familiar from classical literature, the following scenes are less important for my inquiries—not least because of the concision of their presentation: Hesiod *Scut*. 242–3; Ennius *Ann*. 418 Sk.; Vergil *Aen*. 11.475ff., 12.593ff.; Propertius 4.4.19ff.; *Ciris* 172ff.; Ovid *Met*. 8.21ff. (Scylla).

7. According to Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 25, the *matrona* is the bride's mother. The text leaves the relationship between the *matrona* and *uirgo* undetermined, and it could equally be the mother (see the translation by D. West 2002) or the wife of the *bellans tyrannus* and her future daughter-in-law.

8. Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 26 refer to an inscription from Pompeii in which a gladiator is termed *suspirium puellarum* (*CIL* 4.4342). See also *CIL* 4.4397; *ILS* 5142a. In addition, see Catullus 64.99–104 (Ariadne observes Theseus's battle with the Minotaur): *quantos illa tulit languenti corde timores! / quanto saepe magis fulgore expalluit auri, / cum saeuum cupiens contra contendere monstrum / aut mortem appeteret Theseus aut praemia laudis! /non ingrata tamen frustra munuscula divis / promittens tacito succepit uota labello.*

9. See note 7.

10. Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 22–3, 26–7 give brief references to the extensive history of research on this point.

11. Contra Harrison 2004, who interprets the "sweet" death for the "fatherland" as dying for love; death would thus be a substitute for the love that has been foregone.

12. On the issues and positions in research about this, see Krieter-Spiro 2009: 51–2.

13. According to Suzuki 1989: 39–42, Helen, watching the battlefield from the walls, is in a "liminal position" in the same way as Achilles, a warrior who withdraws from battle. With her catalog of warriors, she, as a woman, takes on the role of poet.

14. According to Krieter-Spiro 2009: 149–50, the speech is a contrast to the usual friendly greeting of returning warriors ("steht im Gegensatz zu der üblichen freundlichen Begrüßung heimkehrender Krieger").

15. On this scene, see Stoevesandt 2004: 178–83.

16. Iris is also linked to Aphrodite, but here she is acting as the messenger of Zeus; see Krieter-Spiro 2009: 53. Nothing is said in the text about Helen's own feelings, so in this way the scene clearly becomes a demonstration of the power of Paris's patron goddess (Stoevesandt 2004: 182: "Machtdemonstration von Paris' Schutzgottheit"). See also Krieter-Spiro 2009: 154–5; Suzuki 1989: 37–8.

17. *Off* the battlefield, Paris had long ago—in the contest for Helen—beaten Menelaus. Menelaus, who is the winner on the battlefield, remains the loser *in eroticis*, both at home in Sparta and in the duel before Troy. The comic element in the scene has often been noted; on this see Krieter-Spiro 2009: 155.

18. Despite Agamemnon's announcement of the victory (*Il.* 3.451ff.).

19. This fulfills the premonition that Andromache had voiced to Hector (*Il.* 6.370ff.). On this scene, which also gives space to a female point of view, see Nappi (chapter 2). On the ways in which the two scenes complement each other, see de Jong 2012: 11–12, 173; Lohmann 1988: 63–9; Richardson 1993: 152–4.

20. Hector's corpse was still "beautiful" immediately after he was killed by Achilles (*Il.* 22.370–1), who then mutilated the body before being restrained from further desecrations by Apollo (*Il.* 24.32ff.). See also Vernant 2001: esp. 327–8.

21. Euripides *Phoen.* 88–201; Statius *Theb.* 7.237–373.

22. Statius's variations on Euripides and the *Iliad* are summarized by Lovatt 2006: 60–5; Smolenaars 1994: 120–1.

23. See Lovatt 2006: 66: "*ceu descensura* suggests that she might intervene physically in the battle, leaving the frame, the audience, the walls, and joining the fighters below." See also note 24.

24. See Lovatt 2006: 66: "a reversal of teichoscopy." The situation in which the combatants look up to the women watching from the walls is not unique (see note 23). Augoustakis 2010: 67 reads this differently: "Antigone's speedy transgression . . . is again limited by the walls (*ex muris ceu decensura*)." See also Statius *Theb.* 4.88–92: as Polynices marches out of Argos, he looks back up to the city walls, where he sees his wife Argia and wishes he could stay with his family. At this moment he is indifferent to Thebes and the war, but at the same time his mother and sister draw him to Thebes (*matris sinus fidasque sorores*, 4.88). In addition, see Statius *Achill.* 2.23–30: Deidamia watches Achilles from the city walls as he sails to Troy; Achilles looks back up at the walls and is filled with *ardor*, so that Odysseus has to persuade him to change his mind again (2.30–42).

25. Creon had provoked Eteocles; in the face of that, Iocasta was powerless. On this see Augoustakis 2010: 66: "As Jocasta exits the tragic stage of her previous literary appearances and enters the male ground of warlike operations, the landscape of epic that is, she becomes the other, the Amazon-like persona, traditionally condemned to be marginal and ineffective, therefore silenced and eventually even dead."

26. See Lovatt 2006: 67: "as if watching the battles is the female equivalent of participating in them." See also Fucecchi 1997: 17.

27. On the association of this epic simile with the underworld scene in Vergil *Georg.* 4.471–4, see Fucecchi 1997: 136–7; Lovatt 2006: 68–9.

28. Valerius Flaccus *Arg.* 6.584–6: *Quaque iterum tacito sparsit uaga lumina uultu / aut fratris quaerens aut pacti coniugis arma, / saeuus ibi miserae solusque occurrit Iason* ("Wherever she cast her unsteady eyes again, looking in silence, / searching for the weapons of her brother or her betrothed spouse, / there the poor girl encountered cruel Iason and him alone").

29. See Valerius Flaccus *Arg.* 5.329ff.

30. On the arguments regarding this point, see Baier 2001: 241.

31. In addition, see Valerius Flaccus *Arg.* 6.755–60. On this interpretation, see Elm von der Osten 2007: 74–8.

32. Fucecchi 1997: 231 refers to the similar postures of Antigone in Statius *Theb.* 11.362 (*ceu descensura*), Argia in Statius *Theb.* 4.89–91 (*totoque extantem corpore*), and Deidamia in Statius *Achill.* 2.23–5 (*pendebat*). See also note 23.

33. Zissos 2003: 668–9 (with nn31, 32) also makes this comparison, but he draws the conclusion (which is inapplicable in the case of the gladiatorial arena) that a fear that someone may die on the battlefield is not present; it would apply only to a fear that the "other" could die. See also note 1.

34. The scene has been correspondingly criticized with reference to its content. See Baier 2001: 261; Fucecchi 1996: 160–1, 1997: 251–2 ("indifferenza disumana"); Lovatt 2006: 75–6.

35. Lovatt 2006: 73–7. See also Anzinger 2007: 206–7, who notes that on the ramparts Medea becomes the loser in the war.

36. Lovatt 2006: 77–8 also refers to this prolepsis.

37. In the combat scenes in the *Aeneid*, Vergil often presents the points of view of both victor and victim side by side, which raises the issue without explicit comment. This is now the *communis opinio* among researchers, including those who do not adopt a theory of two or more "voices." See the discussion of these positions in Barchiesi 1999; Suerbaum 1999: 357–75, esp. 371–5; and the narratological analysis of D'Alessandro Behr 2005.

38. See Suzuki 1989: 36.

39. Argia, too, has traits of the Sophoclean Antigone; see Bessone (chapter 7) and Bessone 2010: 76–8.

40. I would like to thank Orla Mulholland for her English translation from the German version of this chapter.

Women Arming Men

Armor and Jewelry

FRANÇOIS LISSARRAGUE

One of the most frequent themes in Attic vase painting is that of a warrior's departure for battle. Numerous vases, especially black-figure but also red-figure ones, depict the moment when a warrior prepares to leave his family. In most cases the adult warrior is positioned in the center of the composition, framed by an old man and a woman. They pour libations and often clasp hands, thus emphasizing the ties that unite them.[1]

Another frequent theme, associated with this same moment in a warrior's life, is that of the handing over of arms to the warrior by a woman who sometimes holds his helmet, and sometimes his shield. That it is often a woman who presents these arms, rather than a mature male or a young man, deserves emphasis. A mythological model accounts for this iconographic choice: depictions of Thetis bringing a suit of armor to her son Achilles appear very early on in Attic vase painting. Thus, on an amphora in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 4.1), Achilles stands facing Thetis; behind her are three Nereids named in the inscriptions (Kumatothea, Neoptoleme, Panope). Each carries one item from the suit of armor, displayed horizontally: shield, breastplate, greaves, and helmet. This bronze armor doubles the potential strength of the entire body of the hero, and he is about to fit it onto himself in order to become a warrior ready for battle; without armor, he remains γυμνός ("naked")[2] and only becomes truly complete when once again clothed in this second skin of bronze.

The place occupied by women in these scenes is essential, conforming to the archaic model that sees women as being fulfilled solely by giving birth to boys destined to become warriors.[3] Such female figures are sometimes explicitly described as the mothers of the warrior, but rarely as their spouses. For example, an amphora by Euthymides (fig. 4.2) portrays Hector arming himself, positioned between his father Priam, standing immobile on the left, and his mother Hecuba, who hands Hector his helmet. All three are named in the inscriptions, leaving

Figure 4.1. Thetis brings a suit of armor to her son Achilles. Black-figure amphora, Boston MFA 21.21; Beazley *ABV* [= Beazley 1956] 84.3, the Camtar painter; BA300781.

no doubt as to their identifications. Certain variations of this schema are revealing. On an amphora in the Capitoline Museum in Rome,[4] Athena herself stands before the hoplite who is in the process of arming himself. The warrior goddess, protector of the city of Athens, attends the warrior's departure and points out the helmet placed on the ground, while an old man, behind the hoplite, holds his sword.

In the mythic world of the Amazons, this allocation of roles between a man who arms himself and a woman who gives him arms becomes problematic, for it is no longer determined by the difference between the sexes. Vase painters use the same iconographic schema, but the relationship between women who arm themselves and the women who give them arms is ambiguous. The distinction between the sexes totally vanishes in this fantastic universe, this topsy-turvy world where women make war and flee away from men. Thus, on an amphora in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum (fig. 4.3), women occupy all of the roles in the visual scenario: the warriors who arms themselves and the partners who presents arms. They represent both sides at the same time: thus the woman holding the greaves for one of her companions is herself equipped with a sword that she carries at her waist. This scene no longer makes a distinction between those who depart (the men) and those who remain (the women); the arms held by the woman on the far right (who occupies the place of the mother in the usual

Figure 4.2. Hector arms himself, while his father Priam and his mother Hecuba look on. Red-figure amphora, Munich Antikensammlung 2307; Beazley *ARV* [= Beazley 1963] 26.1, Euthymides; BA 200160.

schema of arming scenes) can just as well belong to the Amazon who directly faces her.

The absence of males among the Amazons effaces the polarization of the roles between combatants and noncombatants. In return, vase painters sometimes privilege the scenes representing a group of Amazons arming each other without having various weapons transmitted from one warrior to the other. Rather than holding a shield for someone else, they take it for their own use, such as on a hydria signed by Hypsis.[5] This masculinization of roles goes so far as inscribing a winged phallus on the ἐπίσημα (the device, or emblem, placed on a shield for symbolic as well as ornamental purposes), such as on the shield of an Amazon who sounds the trumpet to sustain her companions' fervor in the fight against Heracles.[6] This is a revelatory exception, which occupies an important place in the Athenian imagination,[7] particularly in the imagery that represents Heracles or Theseus fighting the Amazons.

Other mythological stories are concerned in a different way with the question of women's roles in the departure by soldiers for war and in the arming of warriors. I offer two such accounts here, both suggesting a kind of symmetry

Figure 4.3. Amazons arming. Black-figure amphora, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 209; Beazley *ABV* 401.2, group of Wurtzburg 221; BA 303025.

between arms and jewels: the suit of armor belonging to warriors, and the jewelry to women.

The first story involves the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.[8] The conflict pits Eteocles and Polynices, the two sons of Oedipus, against one another. Polynices, entitled to take his turn to rule the city after a year has passed, is instead driven from Thebes. To regain his political power and recapture the city of Cadmos, Polynices seeks to unite the Argive chieftains. Amphiaraus, a seer as well as a king of Argos (along with Adrastus), occupies a key position among these chieftains. He has married Eriphyle, the sister of Adrastus, as the result of a reconciliation that followed a dispute between the two men. In the event of a new dispute, they have pledged themselves to rely on the judgment of Eriphyle. When the expedition of the Seven begins, Amphiaraus is well aware that the undertaking will end badly and wishes to have no part in it. But Adrastus, disagreeing with Amphiaraus on this issue, informs Polynices that if Eriphyle favors their side, then Amphiaraus will be forced to agree to take up arms. Polynices thus seeks to obtain Eriphyle's agreement by offering her a precious necklace[9]—a most prestigious inheritance, since it is the necklace given to Harmonia at the time of her wedding with Cadmus, the founder of Thebes.

Vase painters frequently highlight the importance of this necklace.[10] On a Corinthian krater (fig. 4.4) the characters witness the departure of King Amphiaraus. He mounts his chariot while turning toward the palace he is leaving. The members of his family are standing in front of the colonnade, their arms held in a gesture of farewell. These figures are his young son Alcmeon; three daughters, who are identified in the inscriptions (Ainippa, Damowanassa, Eurydika); and, on the far left, her head veiled and holding an enormous necklace outlined with white dots, his wife Eriphyle, whose name is written on the column behind her.[11] The necklace—an object that enticed her and resulted in Amphiaraus's arming himself and joining the hostile expedition—is super sized, so as not to escape the eye of the spectator, as befits the most important physical artifact in the story behind this image.

On another Attic krater,[12] the child Alcmeon holds out his arms toward his father, while Eriphyle adjusts her veil and carries a necklace in her right hand. The circle forming the elements of the necklace echoes the circle of white dots that borders Amphiaraus's shield. The two objects, necklace and shield, correspond to each other: the woman's jewelry echoes the arms of the man. In this way the painter highlights the symmetry between taking up arms and putting on jewels.

On a vase known only through a sketch,[13] Eriphyle stands in front of Amphiaraus; she carries the child Alcmeon on her back and her hand extends the necklace toward Amphiaraus, who holds his helmet in his hand. The necklace and helmet interact symbolically as objects of exchange; the painter makes the symmetry between male and female adornments visible and explicit.

An analogous scene unfolds on a fragmentary amphora,[14] where the necklace held by Eriphyle is accompanied by the inscription ὅρμος ("necklace"). This scene directs the viewers' focus to the object and encourages their naming it, not because the necklace would otherwise be unrecognizable, but because it functions as a key character in this mythological story.[15]

Later versions of this tale, on red-figure vases, recall a different narrative moment and highlight the role of the necklace in that episode. On an oinochoe in the Louvre,[16] a man is standing (but leaning on his staff) while removing a necklace from a box, and the woman facing him holds out her hand toward it. One might merely interpret this image as a simple scene of seduction, but inscriptions on other images—in particular a pelike in Lecce, Italy (fig. 4.5)—confirm the identities of both Polynices and Eriphyle. The gesture by Eriphyle clearly underscores her greed, while the helmet that Polynices wears alludes to the

Figure 4.4. Departure of King Amphiaraus on the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. Corinthian krater, Berlin Antikensammlung F1655; Amyx *CVP* [= Amyx 1988: 231.1].

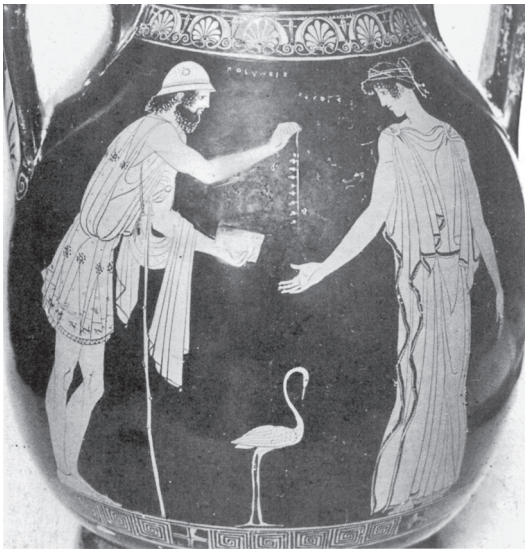

Figure 4.5. Polynices gives Harmonia's necklace to Eriphyle. Red-figure pelike, Lecce 570; Beazley *ARV* 629.23, Chicago painter; BA 207306.

military context implicit in this image. Thus, while the canonical schema of departure scenes shows a woman handing over arms to a man, here a man gives a necklace to a woman, a gesture that later leads to the taking up of arms by a man who did not wish to do so.

This complex depiction of transmitting weapons of war goes even further on a krater at Syracuse in Sicily.[17] Amphiaraus is in the center of the scene, accompanied by another warrior. On the left stands Eriphyle, lifting a section of her clothing, the better to display the necklace she wears. Young Alcmeon stands between the spouses, and Amphiaraus holds out his sword toward his son. This gesture recalls the rest of the mythological story. Amphiaraus, knowing that he has been betrayed by his wife and thus sent to an inescapable death, charges his son to avenge him. By handing Alcmeon his sword, Amphiaraus transmits the duty of revenge to the boy. This double exchange of significant objects conveys a meaningful message in the context of this mythic background. The necklace, given as a seductive bribe to the woman, leads not only to her husband's taking up arms against his wishes, but also to the delivery of the sword from father to son.

An analogous play of symmetry between arms and jewels in a mythological story concerning Achilles comes back to this chapter's point of departure. Before bringing Achilles the armor that will make him the renowned hero with

Figure 4.6. Odysseus discovers Achilles on Scyros. Pompeii, House of Achilles IX, 5, 1–3; Bragantini 1999: 393.

whom we are familiar, his mother Thetis does everything possible to help him escape the destiny that is reserved for him: a heroic and premature death. She initially had sought to make him immortal by passing him through fire, but a vulnerable spot remains on his ankle. Later, in the matter of interest here, Thetis had sought to protect Achilles from what would happen to him as a male by hiding him, disguised as a girl, among the daughters of King Lycomedes on the island of Scyros.[18] This episode of transvestism did not suffice to shelter him from his fate, however. The Greeks, having need of Achilles to ensure the success of their expedition against Troy, send Odysseus, the man of a thousand tricks, to flush him out. Odysseus, in disguise himself as a merchant, arrives at Scyros, ostensibly to sell fabrics and jewels to the daughters of the king. But he has also concealed weapons under this merchandise. As soon as Achilles, in the midst of his female companions, senses the presence of arms, he reveals himself (in a kind of "coming out"), seizes some of the weapons, and reasserts his heroic masculine identity.[19]

Figure 4.7. Odysseus discovers Achilles on Scyros. Pedrosa de la Vega, *LIMC* s.v. Achilleus 121.

To my knowledge there exists no Attic iconography of this episode, but Pompeiian wall painters (and doubtless others before them) treated this theme several times.[20] A fresco in the House of Achilles (fig. 4.6) depicts Odysseus in the foreground, seizing the arm of Achilles. Achilles himself has taken hold of a shield featuring the image of Chiron, his first teacher. On the floor are a helmet and a mirror. Achilles, still dressed as a girl, is clad in a full white peplos, and the milky color of his flesh contrasts with the bronzed complexion of Odysseus. The other girls shrink away, frightened by Achilles's sudden movement; in the background, a Greek sounds a trumpet.

A fourth century CE mosaic of similar artistic composition again highlights Achilles's masculine spirit (fig. 4.7).[21] Divested of his feminine clothing, he appears almost nude, in the manner of epic heroes. His female companions try to hold him back by grabbing his arms, while the rest of the girls, in the background at the doorway of the palace, witness this metamorphosis with astonishment. Odysseus, accompanied by two Greek warriors, is standing at the

right-hand side of the image. One of the men sounds a trumpet, in order to give the signal for combat. In the foreground, overturned on the floor, are various baskets of wool and women's weaving implements, which had served as the false merchant's bait.

The role of the shield in this series of representations is essential, and its depiction often involves symmetry with a mirror.[22] Both objects are carriers of images, permit complex plays of reflections, and fit together in the interior scene portrayed by the various representations. The shield is associated with men, and the mirror with women; both signify their meaning clearly. Yet their interactions problematize the status of gender and the divisions between the sexes. The story of Achilles, first a girl and then a boy, furnishes a paradigm that has powerfully captured the attention of artists from the Hellenistic and Roman epochs.

It is not surprising, then, that the physical relationships among the objects in the domain of war are gendered, and that a shield corresponds to a mirror, just as a helmet corresponds to a necklace. Starting from archaic artifacts depicting scenes of departure and arming, where roles are distinctly divided according to gender, Greek vase painters then elaborated variations that place this relationship among the objects in doubt: in the case of the Amazons, by abolishing it; in the case of Eriphyle, by inverting the roles; and finally, in the case of Achilles, by blurring it, depicting him passing from one gender to the other and from one type of object to another. The symbolic value of these items thus goes well beyond their simple functionality. The place of women in war, even if it is clearly assigned in the historical Greek city-state in relation to that of the hoplite, is constantly questioned in myth, which essentially serves to rethink the categories of this culture.[23]

NOTES

1. See Lissarrague 1990.
2. Longo 1996; Lissarrague 2008.
3. Vernant 1974b: 32: "Wedding is to the girl what war is to the boy."
4. Black-figure amphora, Rome, Capitoline Museum 88; Beazley *ABV* [=Beazley 1956] 270.66, Antimenes painter; BA 320077.
5. Red-figure hydria, Munich 2423; Beazley *ARV* [=Beazley 1963] 30.1, Hypsis; BA 200170.
6. Red-figure hydria, London E167; Beazley *ARV* 571.77, Leningrad painter; BA 206568. For other phalluses as ἐπισήματα, see Lissarrague, forthcoming b.

7. See Von Bothmer 1957 for a list of images. See also Lissarrague 2009 [with Schmitt-Pantel].

8. I summarize scattered information here. See Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2, 3.6.3; Aesch. *Septem*; *Od*. 15.245–53.

9. On this necklace, see Gernet 1968: 106–8.

10. See *LIMC* s.v. Eriphyle.

11. For these inscriptions, see Wachter 2001: 75–7 (COR 66).

12. Lid of a black-figure lekanis, Athens, Acropolis 2112; Beazley *ABV* 58.120, C painter; BA300497.

13. Madrid, Salamanca collection; *LIMC* s.v. Amphiaraos 23.

14. Black-figure amphora, Basel, Cahn collection, HC 921; *LIMC* s.v. Amphiaraos 10; BA 7010.

15. See Lissarrague, forthcoming a.

16. Red-figure oinochoe, Paris, Louvre G442; Beazley *ARV* 1065.7, Manheim painter; BA 214362.

17. Red-figure krater, Syracuse 1842; Beazley *ARV* 1075.7, Danae painter; *LIMC* s.v. Amphiaraos 26; BA 214462.

18. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.6–8.

19. Ov. *Met.*13.165–70.

20. See Ghedini 2004; Grassigli 2005; *LIMC* s.v. Achilleus.

21. See also a mosaic discovered in Zeugma and published by Darmon 2005: 1290–1, his fig. 11.

22. Frontisi-Ducroux 1997; Menichetti and Grassigli 2008.

23. The author expresses his gratitude to Stephen Rojcewicz for translating this chapter from French into English.

Women and War

From the Theban Cycle to Greek Tragedy

LOUISE BRUIT ZAIDMAN

If war is proclaimed as a man's business in the classical Greek city-state, it may be necessary to look beyond the repeated association between men and war to see how, most notably in Greek drama, playwrights use the figure of war in their tragedies in order to explore the great conflicts faced by both the city in question and its ruling families, conflicts in which women play a part that extends beyond their recognized role in the final scenes. To demonstrate the importance of women in Athenian tragedies centered on war, and specifically the Theban tragedies, I analyze the respective places of both the men and the women who figure in two tragedies directly inspired by the Theban cycle of myths, as well as the complex history of Thebes and the ill-starred family of the city's founder, Cadmus.

These two Theban tragedies, Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes* and Euripides's *Phoenissae*, supply abundant evidence for scholars examining the differences between the sexes;[1] the "model of femininity" furnished by the genre of tragedy;[2] "tragic" women and gender relations;[3] and even "feminine discourse" and its ambiguities.[4] Many other studies have viewed these individual tragedies from a variety of different perspectives.[5] My purpose here is to look at the two tragedies together, from the perspective of war, to see how this particular angle illuminates the representation of the women who appear in the plays and how it clarifies their roles vis-à-vis the men to whom they are bound, both in the city and within the compass of family relations.

From Epic to Tragedy

In classical literature, women do not technically make war (although they are certainly capable of doing so), but our sources attest that women could involve themselves in war without fighting on the battlefield.[6] Women could be the cause of war, its purpose, or its medium. Herodotus opens his histories by recalling, in

chapters one through five, the traditions in which the kidnappings of individual women launched a series of wars between the Greeks and barbarians. The Persians, he said, attributed to the Phoenicians the initial responsibility for the first conflict, due to the abduction from Argos of Io, daughter of Inachus. They then blamed the Greeks for stealing Europa from Tyre, and Medea from Colchis. These precedents, Herodotus claims, greatly influenced the Trojan prince Alexander, better known as Paris, son of King Priam, to regard himself as authorized to kidnap a Greek woman, Helen. Herodotus does not endorse either the conduct of the Phoenicians or that of the Persians; indeed, he asserts that Croesus, King of Lydia, was the first to have unjustly attacked the Greeks (Hdt. 1.1–5). Yet he portrays the vengeance of a woman, the beautiful wife of Candaules, as having caused the Lydian throne to pass, with little or no resistance, from the Heraclid dynasty to Gyges, of the Mermnad dynasty.

In the *Iliad*, women—from Helen, who is the immediate cause of the Trojan conflict, to Chryseis, the involuntary source of Achilles's wrath—who are all performers in their own way, and more often than not victims as well, are at the heart of the war.[7] A world of women—slaves and concubines who were formerly wives and female family members of kings and priests—live in the tents of warriors and serve them as required, foreshadowing the fates of Troy's female population. Later works that continue the narrative of Homer tell the fates of the Trojan women who were taken into slavery, from Hecuba to Andromache, particularly in the tragedies that relate what happened after the Greeks returned home.

Along with Homer's narrative about Troy and the stories about the Trojan War ("for fair-haired Helen," as Hesiod writes in *Works and Days* 165), another epic tradition brings together the story of Thebes and the successive sieges that threatened its safety, sieges launched by Argos and its kings. This tradition encompasses the history of Cadmus and his descendants; the story of the city's foundation; the story of Oedipus and his sons-turned-enemies; the story of the seven leaders who raised arms against the walls and were scattered by the city's protectors; then the story of the revenge taken by their sons, the Epigoni; as well as tales, possibly epics, from which a few scraps remain, known as *Oedipus*, *Thebaid*, *Epigoni*, *Alcmaeon*. What place did women occupy in this tradition? What roles did women play in those never-ending wars? These stories inspired, among other literary works, the Athenian tragedies that enable us today to get a sense of women's roles, although we must resist the temptation to reconstruct these lost epics through the tragedies to which they gave rise.[8] Not only are the *Laius* and *Oedipus* (which preceded Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes*) lost,

but also Aeschylus's *Epigoni* and *Women of Argos*; an *Alcmaeon* by Sophocles; and, from Euripides, two plays named *Alcmaeon*, one titled *Antigone* and another *Antiope*.[9]

The epic subject matter that figures in these Athenian tragedies was familiar to spectators acquainted with the Homeric epics, the works of such early logographers as Hellanicus and Pherecydes, and the lyric poem by Stesichorus on a fragment of papyrus (Campbell 2006, 136–43). Sculptures on monuments, paintings, statues, and vases also treated this subject matter, but little of this evidence remains. Pausanias mentions the throne of Amycles, built in approximately 530 BCE by Bathycles of Magnesia, onto which the gods were seen bringing their presents to the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia; a few cups and amphoras survive that depict Cadmus in different episodes from his adventures.[10] According to the references and the sparse fragments that still exist,[11] the *Thebaid* retold the curse of Oedipus's sons; the exile of Polynices, who brought the necklace and robe of Harmonia with him; Polynices's marriage to Argeia, daughter of Adrastus; the preparations for the expedition against Thebes; and the recruitment of seven leaders, with their accompanying army. The siege of Thebes and the battles around the city came next in the narrative. The assault on the ramparts was marked by the death of Capaneus, struck down by Zeus, and by the single combat between the sons of Oedipus; the other Argive leaders were killed in the course of the Thebans' victorious attack. Melanippus slew Mecisteus and Tydeus, brother and son-in-law of Adrastus, before being killed by Amphiaraus; Amphiaraus then disappears, engulfed by the earth; Adrastus flees, saved by his horse Arion.

We also know the lines of Hesiod's *Works and Days* in which the poet, speaking of the fourth race of men, establishes a parallel between the two wars and the two sieges, one at Thebes and the other at Troy (Hes. *Works* 156–65):

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
αὖτις ἔτ' ἄλλο τέταρτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε, δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται
ἡμίθεοι, προτέρη γενεὴ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνὴ
τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ἑπταπύλῳ Θήβῃ, Καδμηίδι γαίῃ,
ὤλεσε μαρναμένους μήλων ἕνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης
ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο.

> When the earth covered up this race, Zeus, Cronus's son, made another one in turn upon the bounteous earth, a fourth one, more just and superior, the godly race of men-heroes, who are called demigods, the generation before our own upon the boundless earth. Evil war and dread battle destroyed these, some under seven-gated Thebes in the land of Cadmus while they fought for the sake of Oedipus's sheep, others brought in boats over the great gulf of the sea to Troy for the sake of fair-haired Helen.

Thus, by Hesiod's time there existed a body of myths, to which Homer also refers, surrounding the history of Thebes. These may have consisted of one or more epics treating the heroes of what was to be called the "Theban cycle." Women's names and destinies have survived either in the epics themselves or through later references. Thus there is Epicaste, the wife of Laius and mother-wife of Oedipus, who is also known as Jocasta or by another name; Eriphyle, who goes back to the epic of the *Epigoni*; Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, whom Euripides, in one of his lost tragedies, designated as the wife of Alcmaeon.[12]

If the *Iliad* resounds with memories of Theban deeds when it relates the adventures and combat of Diomedes and refers to his father Tydeus,[13] the *Odyssey* engages even more closely with the Theban heroes and heroines. Odysseus's descent into the underworld (*Od.* 2.225–332), known as the *nekuia*, in effect provides the opportunity for an encounter with the entire throng of queens and princesses about to parade in front of the hero. More than one of these women comes from the Theban mythic cycle. Among them is Antiope, daughter of the river-god Asopus. She conceived twin sons from Zeus, who were named Amphion and Zethos, "the first founders of Thebes of seven gates, which they fitted with towers" (οἵπρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο, *Od.* 11.263). These words find an echo in the mouth of Antigone in Euripides's *Phoenissae* (117, 145), when she evokes the stone walls of the Theban city as the "work of Amphion," who must protect the Theban citizens against the war that knocks at its door, and mentions the tomb of Zethos before the ramparts. Odysseus also encounters Megara, "the daughter of the arrogant Creon," who wed Heracles and will be her husband's first victim in Euripides's *Madness of Heracles*. Odysseus then sees Oedipus's mother (*Od.* 11.271–80):

> μητέρα τ' Οἰδιπόδαο ἴδον, καλὴν Ἐπικάστην,
> ἣ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν ἀϊδρείῃσι νόοιο
> γημαμένη ᾧ υἷϊ· ὁ δ' ὃν πατέρ' ἐξενaρίξας
> γῆμεν· ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.
> ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Θήβῃ πολυηράτῳ ἄλγεα πάσχων 275

Καδμείων ἤνασσε θεῶν ὀλοὰς διὰ βουλάς·
ἡ δ' ἔβη εἰς Ἀΐδαο πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο,
ἁψαμένη βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρου
ᾧ ἄχεϊ σχομένη· τῷ δ' ἄλγεα κάλλιπ' ὀπίσσω
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα τε μητρὸς ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσι. 280

The mother of Oedipodes, fair Epicaste, who wrought a monstrous deed in ignorance of mind, in that she wedded her own son, and he, when he had slain his own father, wedded her, and straightway the gods made these things known among the men. Howbeit he abode as lord of the Cadmeans in lovely Thebe, suffering woes through the baneful counsels of the gods, but she went down to the house of Hades, the strong warder. She made fast a noose on high from a lofty beam, overpowered by her sorrow, but for him she left behind woes full many, even all that the Avengers of a mother bring to pass.

Homer speaks of Epicaste's suicide, but nothing is said about Oedipus's self-blinding; nor is there any mention of the children born of his union with Epicaste. On the contrary, the passage evokes the continuity of his reign at Thebes and his longevity; and the Iliadic reference to his funeral games again looks to this (*Il.* 23.674–84).[14] The listing ends with "hateful Eriphyle, who took precious gold as the price of the life of her own lord" (στυγερήν τ' Ἐριφύλην, / ἣ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα, *Od.* 11.326–7).

These heroines appear in the Theban tragedies written for the Athenian theater. For some of them, only the name of a lost tragedy remains: Antiope, Eriphyle. Others haunt the preserved texts of the tragedians. I now turn to the perspective that these extant tragedies offer on the mythic history of Thebes and the role that these tragic heroines play in them, focusing on the context of the war facing the city.

The Theban Tragedies

What the Theban tragedies have in common is their close interweaving of foreign wars and fratricidal war, as if the Athenian discourse wanted to exorcise the ghost of civil war by staging it at the gates of an "anti-Athens." Froma Zeitlin has brilliantly expounded the argument for this interpretation of these plays.[15] Starting from the central theme of the two wars, foreign and civil (namely, fraternal war, or στάσις), I explore a few tragedies in which this type of war plays a central role, considering how these Greek tragedies draw on the cyclic material and develop, among other topics, the thematic element of women in or facing war. Many tragedies offer pertinent examples, such as Euripides's *Suppliant*

Women, but in this chapter I limit them to Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes* and Euripides's *Phoenissae*, both of which represent the war against Thebes by the Argives, led by Adrastus and his son-in-law Polynices, that brings about the "reciprocal murder" of Oedipus's two sons and the victory of Thebes. Their subject matter is the same, but its treatment is intentionally shifted, with Euripides, on several all-important issues, clearly making either a counterargument to or reversing the point of view presented by his predecessor. Defining the role that the women play in this story "full of sound and fury" permits an assessment of their relationship to the male heroes and an examination of the positions that the playwrights assign to these women, both within their families and in the city to which they are bound.

Seven against Thebes: Eteocles and the Chorus of Theban Women

Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes* stages a dialogue between the female chorus, composed of women from Thebes (a secured place under siege) and Eteocles, its king—a dialogue that constitutes the largest portion of the tragedy. The dialogue is interrupted by the messenger who serves as the eyes of the king outside the city, where the defense of the city's seven gates is being prepared. After Eteocles's final exit, with him determined to confront his brother at the seventh gate, the chorus remains alone on stage to lament the death of Oedipus's sons.[16]

Three movements in this tragedy serve to define the relationship between the king and the chorus. In the first, the women's prayers and the supplications that they address to the gods of the city defy the imperious orders of Eteocles, who wants to reduce the women to silence. In the second movement, the "shields scene," the female chorus unites with the king regarding his choices for the defense of the city. In the third part, the female chorus calls out to Eteocles and tries to convince him not to confront his brother. Their first and third encounters, owing to their length and the moment at which the women intervene, constitute two strategically important dramatic moments (at lines 182–286, 653–710, respectively), one before the long shields scene, and the other in the continuation of that scene, before Eteocles leaves to enter combat and meet his death. Symmetrically arranged in relation to the central scene, where the dialog is about war and heroic confrontation, these two tête-à-têtes form a byplay and, in a way, reverse the relationship between Eteocles and the chorus.

Two speeches interconnect with and respond to one another over the course of the tragedy. The first is that of the city's leader, whose opening words are a proclamation to the "people of Cadmus" (Κάδμου πολῖται, 1). Eteocles calls the young and the old—the only men who are not already beneath the ramparts—to

combat (5–10). From line 182 onward he noisily reacts to the immobilizing fear of the women, first by organizing the city's defense and galvanizing its energies in the shields scene and, from line 375 onward, by raising before the spectators' imagination the heroes called to fight at the seven gates. The women speak from another point of view and from a different side of war. They appear at first in the role of potential victims, condemned to passive waiting. They are preyed upon by fear, at the mercy of the noises that besiege the city. The women, however, will soon assume an active role: first by their prayers, in an effort to mobilize the gods in favor of the city, and then by their attempt to influence the final decision of Eteocles.

In the *parados*, which precedes the entrance of Eteocles at line 182, the voice of the women is at first only a long upwelling of fear, responding to the the echoes of the battle cries and rumors that reach them: "I cry for great, fearful sufferings!" (θρεῦμαι φοβερὰ μεγάλ' ἄχη, 78). From this point of view, the entrance of the chorus seems to establish Eteocles as "a good ship's captain" (ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος, 62). But, beginning with line 92, the chorus very quickly chooses a ritual response to this situation of distress and terror: they turn toward the gods and implore them through supplication, the only means available to avoid "vain wails" (99).[17] Up on the mound where the statues of the city's gods stand, the chorus goes from one divinity to the other, fastening themselves to the statues by their veils and garlands, performing a gesture that is depicted in numerous images on vases and exhibited in other dramatic contexts. The "suppliant maidens" in Aeschylus's eponymous tragedy, on the advice of Danaus, sit on the altar of the Argive gods, supplicant branches in hand, and it is through their performance of this rite that the king recognizes the Greeks beneath their foreign garb. Gestures by the mothers that Euripides also chose to call "Suppliants" seem to correspond to this action: the branches they hold form a link with the "sacred altars of the Two Goddesses" and the mother of Theseus, around whom they are kneeling. In both cases, these acts serve to urge the king of Argos, and then Theseus, to protect the suppliants against their attackers, in the name of "hospitable Zeus." In the *Seven*, it is the gods of the city who are directly involved in protecting the women and the community against the disasters of war (110–80). But Eteocles, having returned to the stage, brutally wants to impose silence on the Theban chorus, reproaching them for occupying a civic space reserved for men and making a public demonstration of their contagious panic (230–2).

The chorus's recourse to ritual supplication, however, is precisely their way of fighting against the panic for which Eteocles reproaches them. The voice of the women in the *Seven* resounds like an anonymous feminine voice of the city

against the hero who embodies its political existence. At the height of his irritation, Eteocles, in one phrase, condemns the whole of the female race: "Zeus, what a race you've given us for company, these women!" (ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἷον ὤπασας γένος, 256). The chorus's leader responds: "A wretched one—just like men when their city is captured" (μοχθηρόν, ὥσπερ ἄνδρας ὧν ἁλῷ πόλις, 257). The only useful intervention Eteocles attributes to them is their support for the promise of sacrifice that will accompany victory by launching the sacred cry (ὀλολυγμός, 268) in advance, accompanied by the Paean (the cry of victory), both of which are destined to sustain the boldness of the combatants.[18] This equality of the suffering for both men and women as a result of war, established by the chorus leader, echoes again in the female chorus's long evocation of the capture of the city (321–68). The issue does not merely involve the distress of the women; it addresses the defeat of an entire city and the destruction both of its population, from warriors to infants, and its resources: πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ / δόρει καίνεται· . . . / βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι / τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων / ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται ("Man is slain by man with the spear . . . Loud, bloody screams rise from infants fresh from the nourishing breast," 346–50).

Nevertheless, the role of the chorus in the central shields scene quickly deflects the picture of the chorus's women that Eteocles has sought to portray (375–651). The king's messenger describes, one by one, the images on the shields of the Argive assailants, each posted before one of Thebes's seven gates. The besiegers are named, one after the other, and Eteocles, facing each of them individually, designates a Theban champion to confront him. Eteocles uses self-control and the law in opposition to the insolence and pride of the assailants—rendered explicit by the patterns represented on their shields—and to their arrogance and scorn for the gods, which condemn them. The context is one of epic war, where the champions confront each other individually, and the designated heroes have names that must have been familiar to Aeschylus's spectators. Thus Melanippus is matched against Tydeus, whom Aeschylus designates as one of the "Spartan warriors spared by Ares." This detail recalls the legend of Thebes's founding by Cadmus in a version of the *Thebaid* retold by Pherecydes (Pausanias 11.18.1). There, Melanippus killed Tydeus before he himself is slain by Amphiaraus.

The interventions by the chorus, which give a rhythm to the seven parallel discourses of the messenger and Eteocles in this scene, illustrate the place of the women in war that is equally foreign and fratricidal. After each of Eteocles's seven speeches, where he designates which Theban warrior will oppose which particular Argive leader (symbolized by his shield), the chorus asks the gods to

support that chosen champion. The women of the chorus, won over by the assurance of their leader, begin by expressing unity with her through their bellicose tone, sanctioning each of the king's decisions through their approbation and the echo of their prayer. In the face of the enemy, now clearly identified by name and shield, it is no longer fear that speaks, and the lengthy scene shows the city bound together for the defense of the land under the expected protection of the gods.

But when, at last, the messenger describes the seventh gate and announces that it will be besieged by Polynices, everything changes. The messenger departs, leaving Eteocles alone to make this final choice of a champion. When he announces that he will confront his brother, the chorus's leader, abandoning a lyrical style, tries to convince him to change his mind (Aesch. *Septem* 679–82):

ἀλλ᾽ ἄνδρας Ἀργείοισι Καδμείους ἅλις
ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον.
ἀνδροῖν δ᾽ ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ὧδ᾽ αὐτοκτόνος,
οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος.

There are enough Cadmean men to go to battle with the Argives; such blood purifies itself. But the death of two men of the same blood killing each other—that pollution can never grow old.

These verses summarize the heart of the tragedy. The women, moving beyond their fear and apprehension, have performed a sacred mobilization for the salvation of their city. They even used "righteous prayer" (δικαίαις λιταῖς) to call for death for their enemies. Now, however, they try to stop Eteocles, who is about to commit an irreparable pollution (*miasma*) by spilling the blood of a brother. Their prayers will be in vain. Disregarding the chorus's advice, Eteocles throws himself into fulfilling the curse Oedipus pronounced on his sons. Although Thebes is saved, Eteocles—in confronting and killing his brother Polynices—meets his own preordained death. Henceforth, as Apollo had declared, the descendants of Laius will be wiped out. It is left to the women to start singing the funeral lament that is owed to the mortal remains of Eteocles and Polynices. The women, who successively are potential victims, then supplicants, and then reasonable interlocutors of their Theban leader who will be destroyed by the paternal curse, represent a collective voice, taking part in the defense of the city.

Phoenissae: Euripides's Gaze

Euripides, although beginning from the same mythic material, systematically seems to oppose Aeschylus in his method of treating not only the story of the

war but also the role of the women.[19] While, in the *Seven*, the only member of the γένος of Laius to occupy the stage was Eteocles, in the *Phoenissae* the entire incestuous family is there: the two brothers together, then Eteocles and Creon, and, to close the tragedy, Oedipus, who survives after the deaths of his two sons. As for the women, Jocasta opens the play, followed by Antigone, who assumes Jocasta's role after the latter's suicide following the death of her sons. The chorus, as in the *Seven*, is composed of women. But, far from being Thebans, they are distant relatives and empathetic spectators from outside the city. They present themselves as kindred to the Thebans, via their distant ancestors, and through that connection they sympathize with the Thebans' suffering. The chorus, coming from Phoenicia, represented as the native land of Cadmus, is simultaneously supportive and foreign. They are spoils of war and, as such, are on their way to Delphi as offerings destined for Apollo. In the city where these women are trapped by the siege, they are the living manifestations of the memory of a race, and, according to their contrapuntal song, witnesses to divine will and power. Step by step and strophe after strophe, they intermingle with the present threats, as well as with the elements of the mythic story of the city and of the race of Cadmus, descendant of Io, "the horned ancestor." The chorus twice describes Io by this epithet, which recalls her tribulations as the lover of Zeus. The entire significance of the play's present action comes from this perspective, offering both a temporal and mythic depth that informs the chorus's point of view and abundantly evokes the Theban epic tradition.[20] In a manner altogether different from that of the *Seven*, Euripides's *Phoenissae* gives voice to the two women who play a decisive role in the structure of the tragedy—Jocasta and Antigone—as well as to the female chorus.

These two characters, the mother and the daughter, are both narrowly and differently implicated in the ongoing conflict, and they are present in nearly all of the scenes. The role that Euripides assigns to them constitutes an innovation to the traditional story and heavily underscores the significance of their intervention.[21] It is they who open the tragedy: Jocasta, in the prologue, by recalling the story of Cadmus's lineage and the curse that weighs on the life of Oedipus and his descendants; and Antigone, in her dialogue with the paedagogus, by describing, from the height of the palace's terrace, the appearance of the army that besieges the city. Both of these women, in their own way, play an active role in the events that accompany a war matching Thebans defenders against their Argive attackers. Jocasta, who knows the destiny of her sons, will do everything she can to try to interrupt the conflict in progress. Acting as a queen, and assuming the authority of a commander-in-chief, she imposes a truce to force her two sons to hold a final meeting that she hopes will lead to a negotiation. From

the very first moment, Eteocles refuses the wish of Polynices—presented here as the victim of an unjust exile, quite different from his portrayal by Aeschylus—to assume the kingship after a year and instead wants to maintain his power at all costs; indeed, Eteocles is ready to risk it all. Opposing him is Jocasta, who speaks in the voice of wisdom and defends the reign of Equality, though in vain.[22]

THE FEMALE CHARACTERS: JOCASTA

The appearance of Jocasta in the prologue, relating the story about Cadmus's lineage, distinguishes her from the character in the *Odyssey*. There Odysseus sees her in the *nekuia* episode, under the name of Epicaste, who "made fast a noose on high from a lofty beam, overpowered by her sorrow" (ἁψαμένη βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑφηλοῖο μελάθρου, / ᾧ ἄχει σχομένη, *Od*. 11.278–9). This is the same image found in Sophocles's *Oedipus*: "And there, we had before us the spectacle of a woman hung, tied to the knots of a bed floating in air" (οὗ δὴ κρεμαστὴν τὴν γυναῖκ' εἰσείδομεν, / πλεκταῖσιν αἰώραισιν ἐμπεπλεγμένην, 1263–4). Euripides wanted Jocasta to survive the misfortune connected with the degradation of Oedipus, who is shut up in the palace and will only appear in the final scene, where he discovers the culmination of the curse and the deaths of both Jocasta and her sons.

Jocasta finds herself at the intersection of the two royal Theban lineages: the daughter of Meneceus, a descendant of the Spartoi, and the wife of Laius, son of Labdacus, a descendant of Cadmus. At the opening of the tragedy, she alone bears the weight imposed by the destiny of the two races merged in her, whose history she recalls at length. Oedipus seems nothing more to her than a distant ghost, locked away in the palace. By using the third person, she speaks of his union with her as an impersonal event, as if incest pertained to a character other than herself: γαμεῖ δὲ τὴν τεκοῦσαν οὐκ εἰδὼς τάλας / οὐδ' ἡ τεκοῦσα παιδὶ συγκοιμωμένη ("The wretch, unknowing, wedded with his mother; nor did she know she bedded with her son," 53–4). The Jocasta of the *Phoenissae* focuses on the part of herself that gave birth to the children of Oedipus. The threat that weighs on Eteocles and Polynices seems to suppress all other preoccupations. A long scene brings the mother and her sons together. At first, Jocasta embraces Polynices for a long time, to tell him of her maternal love; she wears mourning garments for him, because of his exile.[23] Next comes the brutal encounter of the two brothers, who tear each other apart verbally, in the presence of their mother, before separating on a promise of death: ἐλπίδες δ' οὔπω καθεύδουσ', αἷς πέποιθα σὺν θεοῖς / τόνδ' ἀποκτείνας κρατήσειν τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονός ("But I

still have hope that somehow if the gods are on my side I shall kill him and be master of this our Theban land," 634–5). This is an impious and sacrilegious prayer that links the two themes of war against the city and internecine war. For Jocasta, the war that threatens Thebes simultaneously menaces all that remains for her: her two sons and her daughters, including Antigone, whom she named. Jocasta is a woman ready to fight to the finish against the war, to fight the death threat not only against her sons but also against her city. When she learns from the messenger about the duel that is being organized, she prepares herself for this new battle and asks Antigone's help in leading her to the middle of the enemy lines. They arrive too late, however. Jocasta stabs herself with a sword seized from between her two dead sons and lies down on their bodies. Unlike the Jocasta of Sophocles, who chose a wife's death and hung herself in "her nuptial chamber" (τὰ νυμφικὰ / λέχη, 1242–3), Euripides's Jocasta puts an end to her life on the battlefield, between the two armies, by means of a virile weapon,[24] an action that she had announced when leaving the stage to rejoin her sons on the battlefield in a final attempt to prevent their deaths: θανοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς συνθανοῦσα κείσομαι (("But if they die, I'll lie with them in death," 1283). Her words are echoed by the two verses that conclude the death scene of the sons and their mother, which offers a bitter reunion of the two enemy brothers: ἐν δὲ τοῖσι φιλτάτοις / θανοῦσα κεῖται περιβαλοῦσ' ἀμφοῖν χέρας ("So now she lies among her own. In death her arms are cast about them both," 1458–9).

THE FEMALE CHARACTERS: ANTIGONE

As opposed to Jocasta, the two appearances of Antigone embody two different relationships with war. Antigone, in the first scene of the *Phoenissae* (after the prologue), contrasts with the character of Jocasta. Her second appearance comes at the end of the tragedy, after Jocasta's death, which Antigone describes to Oedipus. Antigone's character initially blends the timidity of a well-reared young girl with curiosity about and fascination with the military leaders and troops she views from a distance, standing on the lofty terrace of the palace. The exodus of the tragedy, on the field of battle, confronts her with blood and death. The battlefield, which was a spectacle for her at first, becomes a direct confrontation with death and the fate reserved for her family by the gods. In the end it is Antigone who, claiming "I come as a bacchant, celebrating death" (αἰδομένα φέρομαι βάκχα νεκύων, 1490), will lead the mourning for her brothers and her mother, before calling for Oedipus to come outside the palace.

The scene of Antigone observing the Argive army, which had been deployed in front of the gates in the high Theban wall, has been rightly compared in detail

with the famous scene of Helen on the walls of Troy, contemplating the Achaean army and responding to questions about the Greek warriors from the older Trojan men standing next to her. Here again, however, Euripides chooses a strategy of literary inversion.[25] In the *Iliad* it is Helen who responds to Priam's questions; it is she who knows, and who names for Priam and the other elders, the warriors whom they designate. Thus Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Ajax parade before their Trojan spectators in the *Iliad* (3.121–240). In the *Phoenissae*, Antigone describes the warriors that she sees and asks the paedagogus their names, accompanying his statements with her own judgments or appreciations. A feeling of fear follows her initial impressions, which emphasized the splendor of the weapons. She identifies each of the leaders by means of a brief description that underscores their threatening aspect and the monstrosity of their armaments, likened to those of a giant (Hippomedon) or a semibarbarian (Tydeus). She calls down a curse of the gods upon them, and then asks these deities for their protection in the name of all the Theban women threatened by slavery. Nevertheless, she is also aware of the splendor and exoticism of their equipment, especially (from lines 160 onward) those of her beloved brother in his golden armor: "how he shines in his golden arms ablaze with the light of dawn!" (ὡς / ὅπλοισι χρυσέοισιν ἐκπρεπής . . . / ἑώιοις ὅμοια φλεγέθων βολαῖς, 167–9).

The play's second and most telling difference from the Homeric scene is by the former creating the largest possible distance between the two female characters on stage. Euripides chooses as his interlocutor a young girl who is curious but inexperienced, entrusted to the paedagogus by her mother. Helen, on the other hand, called by Iris to witness the impending combat between Paris and Menelaus from the top of the rampart, knows all the actors who are waiting for the fight to begin, and it is in this capacity that she is questioned. Instead of a shy, young girl whom the paedagogus hastens to shelter from prying glances, the wife of Paris has access to a public voice, appearing before the council of the elders, who seek her advice as an "expert."[26] Moreover, Euripides's scene is a rewriting of Aeschylus's great shield scene, from the intertextual perspective of the tragic genre.[27] Here Antigone, in effect, is made to play the role of Eteocles in Aeschylus's drama, where he is represented by the messenger, describing the ranks and features of the enemy army. In a single stroke, Euripides thereby completely transforms the import of the scene.

In the same way as her mother opens the tragedy, Antigone closes it. Brought, against her wishes, onto the battlefield by her mother, after the death of her brothers and Jocasta, Antigone inherits her family's bloody fate. It is she who leads the funeral procession that carries the three cadavers beyond the eyes of the

spectators. It is she who summons Oedipus for a last appearance, and it is she who once more reports the death of Jocasta, this time for him: χαλκόκροτον δὲ λαβοῦσα νεκρῶν πάρα φάσγανον εἴσω / σαρκὸς ἔβαψεν, ἄχει δὲ τέκνων ἔπεσ' ἀμφὶ νεκροῖσιν ("So taking the bronze-hammered sword from the dead, she plunged it in flesh, and in grief for her sons, she fell on her sons," 1577–9).

It is also Antigone who stands up to Creon and the city's prohibition against burying Polynices (1652). Euripides, reviving the inflexibly willed young girl painted by Sophocles, chooses to let her live, so she can accompany her father into the exile imposed by Creon. The end of the tragedy is a long plaint, uttered by Antigone, on the death of Oedipus's family, henceforth condemned to eternal solitude (1530). Thus it is she who will perform the duties of lamenting the dead, an office that Creon wanted to entrust to his sister Jocasta over the death of his son Menoeceus. To Antigone's outcries will be added those of Oedipus, having come out of the palace to confirm the fulfillment of the curses. Everything happens as if Antigone has burdened herself with the destiny of the two races, initially borne by Jocasta in the prologue—a heavy heritage passed down from mother to daughter.

In the *Seven*, the messenger's last words are τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι πάρα ("We have to rejoice and to weep over," 815), referring to both the victory of Thebes and the death of the two brothers. Through the mediation of the female chorus members leading the mourning, it is the city in its entirety that mourns the two kings, deploring the quarrel that pushed them to destroy each other and leaving the responsibility for it to paternal ἀραί (894). The terms used to refer to the city (πόλις, 900) alternate with those that mean the home (δόμοισι, 895) and the race (γένος) of Oedipus. In the *Phoenissae*, only Antigone leads the mourning and escorts the bodies of her brothers and her mother, thus strongly accentuating the mourning of Oedipus's οἶκος and the vengeance of the Erinyes. Antigone cries over her plight and the life awaiting her before calling on her father to participate in the lamentations and to remind him that he himself awakened "the ferocious demon" (ἀλάστωρ, 1556) against him. Oedipus appears on stage, a weakened and pitiful old man, who regrets his curses against his sons and mourns his children and his wife.

Men's War and Women's War

The Theban war is truly the work of men, those brilliant warriors about to lose their lives before the gates of the city. As such, war has the right to a noble story, which describes the splendid deeds and heroic deaths of those on all sides (1089–198). Its second story, in opposition to the first, tells of the impious duel between

and lamentable deaths of Eteocles and Polynices, followed by Jocasta's suicide (1356–460). Then, before the ultimate victory by the Thebans, there is an anonymous battle, leading to a bloody defeat for the Argives, whose dead fall by the thousands (1465–85). The duel of the two brothers will not have sufficed for victory, which is primarily due to the discreet, sacrificial suicide of Menoeceus: another inversion, since, for once, it is not a young girl who gives her life for her country.[28]

The female characters introduced in the *Phoenissae* bear witness to the tragic story of Oedipus and his sons. Against their own will, as the mother, sister, and daughter of the condemned heroes, they are led into destruction or misfortune. Many situations seem to send them to their destiny: a city poised to be captured, dead heroes in front of the city, a fratricidal duel. These women do not yield without a fight, however, even when it seems in vain. By words and deeds, they fight to the end, until the will of the gods imposes silence upon them, as Antigone's last words in the *Phoenissae* attest: χάριν ἀχάριτον ἐς θεοὺς διδοῦσα ("It would be no grace I should do the gods," 1757), and to which Oedipus answers: τὰς γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκας θνητὸν ὄντα δεῖ φέρειν ("The constraint the gods lay on us we mortals must all bear," 1763). The women are witnesses to the mistakes and errors made by their sons, their father, or their husband and try in vain to persuade them otherwise. If the women are not victims following the deaths of these men, they will instead lead the mourning and stay to witness the tragedy. The end of the οἶκος of Oedipus and of his γένος in the Theban war shows what sort of disaster the conflict between the two brothers nearly dragged the city into, and the heavy price paid for the victory that brought peace. Thebes is only saved at the cost of the voluntary sacrifice of Menoeceus, however, so the house of Creon also pays a hefty toll. In this play, contrary to what happens in the tragedies of the Trojan cycle, war does not destroy the cities. But destruction, both of the cities themselves and the lives that they contain, is always on war's horizon. This is what the chorus sings about in the *Seven* after Eteocles's exit to post the warriors—of whom he will be the seventh—at the gates of Thebes. Their prayer to the gods defending Thebes is followed by a precise and concrete evocation of the pillage and annihilation that threaten the city and its inhabitants, from virgins to infants, which not only concerns the female population, but the entire city.

Both tragedies end with the impious dual murder committed by the enemy brothers and the destruction of the house of Oedipus. War, from the beginning, is at the heart of Thebes. The ground on which the city was built gave birth to the formidable Spartan warriors; Cadmus, by killing the dragon and then

throwing a stone among the warriors, twice shed blood on Theban soil before establishing his city. If the gods favored its birth and attended the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, at the moment when the tragedy starts, they seem to abandon the city to the curses brought upon Oedipus and his sons. The only outcome is the bloody solution suggested by Tiresias: the death of the last descendants of the Spartoi will assure the victory of Thebes. As for Oedipus's descendants, the old soothsayer abandons them to their destiny, which was sealed ever since Laius defied Apollo's order (*Phoen*. 867–8).

The *Phoenissae* was performed between 410 and 408 BCE, after the oligarchic revolution and in the middle of the Peloponnesian War, at a moment when the city of Athens was deeply affected by the threats posed by foreign war and internal conflicts. In this context, Jocasta's calls to her sons, inviting them to a dialogue and reconciliation in the long scene that brings them together before the battle, could become especially significant to the spectators. What follows is a lengthy praise of Equality, rather than Ambition (Eur. *Phoen*. 531–7):

τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι
Φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; μὴ σύ γ'· ἄδικος ἡ θεός·
. . . . . .
κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον, 535
Ἰσότητα τιμᾶν, ἣ φίλους ἀεὶ φίλοις
πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμάχοις
συνδεῖ·

Why do you seek after the goddess Ambition? The worst of all: this goddess is Injustice . . . It's better, child, to honor Equality who ties friends to friends, cities to cities, allies to allies.

Jocasta will not save her sons, but, in this tragedy where the best of the Theban and Argive heroes—and the two armies that accompany them—confront each other, and which ends with a double fratricide, it is remarkable that Euripides makes Jocasta, a heroine crushed by the curse that follows her husband and her sons, the sole carrier of a political message worthy of the democratic city.[29]

Conclusion

Both tragedies invite their audiences not to rely on too simple a division between feminine and masculine in the context of the wars they introduce. If battles are indeed the prerogatives of the warriors, and if Eteocles in the *Seven* proclaims

loudly and strongly that women's place is in the home, the relationship between the king and the chorus change at the moment when Eteocles yields to the temptation of fraternal combat. Likewise, in the *Phoenissae*, the women's fighting stance, to which the playwright grants a decisive place in the structure of his tragedy, responds to the warriors' discourse and to the clash of arms. Jocasta first confronts the threat of war by acting as a negotiator helping the city, and then does so again on the frontlines of the battle, until her virile end with sword in hand. As for Antigone, in the space of a few hours she covers the daunting road of life, beginning with her perch on the terrace, a lofty observation post where, as a curious and innocent young girl, she viewed from afar the Argive champions. She was then led among the ranks of the combatants by Jocasta and witnessed the bloody deaths of her brothers and her mother. After this horrifying experience, she chooses to accompany Oedipus into exile, voluntarily turning her back on a the life in the heart of the city, with a spouse whom Eteocles had chosen for her and is offered to her once again by Creon. Inexorably caught up in the ruin of their family, these women are nonetheless presented by Euripides as playing an active part in the game of destiny, even if they can in no way change the fate that overwhelms them and their parents.[30]

NOTES

1. Loraux 1985a, 1985b, 1989, 1990; Zeitlin 1990.
2. Foley 1985, 2001.
3. McClure 1999.
4. Lardinois and McClure 2001.
5. See, for example, Conacher 1967; Jouanna 1967; Rawson 1970; Vidal Naquet 1986. Saïd 1985 also studies the structure of Euripides's *Phoenissae* in contrast with that of Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes*.
6. See, for example, several chapters in this volume, among them those by Georgoudi (chapter 11); Hallett (chapter 14); Payen (chapter 12); Sebillotte-Cuchet (chapter 13); and Sharrock (chapter 9). See also Payen 2004.
7. See Nappi (chapter 2).
8. See Severyns 1928.
9. Euripides's fragments have been edited and translated into French by Jouan and Van Looy (1998–2003), and into English by Collard and Cropp (2008); see esp. Collard and Cropp 2008, vol. 1, with *Alcmeon in Psophis* and *Alcmeon in Corinth*.
10. See Vian 1963.
11. For the epic deeds of the Thebans, see the editions of the fragments by T. Allen 1912; Davies 1989; Severyns 1928: 211–44.

12. See Apollodorus 3.7.7 regarding Euripides's lost play, *Alcmaeon in Corinth*.

13. See the *Iliad*, Books 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 14, where Diomedes declares to Odysseus that he is the son of "Tydeus, whom an enormous tomb in Thebes holds" (Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει, *Il.* 14.114).

14. See Lobo 2008: 165–6; Mastronarde 1994: 20–6.

15. See Zeitlin 1986: 131: "Thebes, I will argue, provides the negative model of Athens' manifest image of itself with regard to its notions of the proper management of city, society, and self."

16. Here I seek to complete and develop certain arguments in Bruit 1991. The abundant scholarly literature on this play includes Delcourt 1932; Foley 1993; Graf 1984; Lupas and Petre 1981; Schmitt-Pantel 2009a. See Vidal-Naquet 1986: 121–8 on the confrontation between the chorus and Eteocles.

17. On the procedures for supplication in ancient Greece, see Gould 1973. The translation of *Seven against Thebes* is by Sommerstein 2008.

18. In Sophocles's *Trachiniae*, the words ὀλολυγή and παιάν are both associated with celebrating the victorious return by Heracles in the joyful and triumphant song (205–24) shouted by the young women who constitute the chorus.

19. This observation is already a point of departure in Saïd 1985. On the heroic figures in the *Phoenissae*, see Aelion 1986 and a large number of other studies, including Alaux et al. 2007 (with bibliography); Foley 1985, 2001: 272–300 (on the mothers in Euripidean tragedy).

20. See Calame 1997 for a comparison of one of Pindar's *Parthenaea* with the choruses of *Seven against Thebes* and *Phoenissae*.

21. See Mastronarde 1994; Nancy 2007.

22. On Jocasta's failure, see Alaux 2007: esp. 106–9. The translation of the *Phoenissae* is by Wyckoff 1959.

23. See Loraux 1990: 57–65, on "le pathos d'une mère."

24. On the "virile" death of Jocasta and the rupture with the tradition that it represents, see Loraux 1985a: 40–1.

25. See Fuhrer (chapter 3); Létoublon 2007: 28–9.

26. See Frontisi-Ducroux 2009: 60–7; Soares 1999: 30–4 ("aproveitamento tragico da *teichoskopia homerica*").

27. Nancy 2007: 47.

28. On the death of Menoeceus, see Loraux 1975: 65–8, 74; Sebillotte Cuchet 2004: 150–1.

29. See Nancy 2007: 48. Mastronarde 2010: 210–11 chooses to place Euripides's Jocasta between the Theseus of *The Suppliants* and the Tiresias of *The Bacchae*, to illustrate the figure of the "optimistic rationalist," as the dramatist sketches it.

30. The author and editors are grateful to Mary Cobb Wittroch and Judith P. Hallett for translating this chapter from the original French into English.

Women after War in Seneca's *Troades*

A Reflection on Emotions

JACQUELINE FABRE-SERRIS

In his *Troades*, Seneca treats a subject twice dealt with by Euripides: the aftermath of the legendary Trojan War. During the very first scene, the captive women—the only representatives of the defeated side—are described as a company accustomed to pain: *non rude uulgus lacrimisque nouum* ("a crowd not unfamiliar with, and not to new to tears," 67). They have been mourning for ten years; they have witnessed the destruction of their homeland and are now destined for slavery and exile. By bringing together two events of the Trojan postwar years, one borrowed from Euripides's *Hecuba* and the other from his *Trojan Women*, Seneca gives these women new challenges to overcome. Achilles's ghost appears to demand that Polyxena be sacrificed. Calchas, who supports this request, explains that fate demands the death of the young girl, as well as that of Hector's son Astyanax, as a condition of the Greeks' return home. The author chooses to construct the plot around the Trojan women's reactions to this added suffering. I argue that this tragedy enables Seneca to renew, in a different literary genre, his reflections on a central issue of Stoicism: control over the emotions,[1] which he explores several times in his philosophical texts.

In order to substantiate this argument, I begin by reviewing what Seneca wrote about women and emotions in two minor works that are likely to have predated the *Troades*, the *Consolations* that he addressed to Marcia and to his mother, Helvia.[2] My discussion of the *Troades* then proceeds through the play act by act, taking up Seneca's presentation of the Trojan women's emotions as a counterpoint to those of the Greek victors. I show that Seneca conceived of each scene of the *Troades* in which one or more women speak as an opportunity to reflect on what interested him as a philosopher: *acting on one's emotions* with the aim of *controlling* them. His reflections in the tragedy, however, only partly confirm the perspectives developed in his *Consolations*.

Seneca invests the question of either controlling one's emotions or being unable to govern them with high dramatic stakes through the oracle's sudden demand for the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena. Indeed, the Trojan women here not only must act on their own emotions but also try to arouse those of the victors. How does one control one's emotions? How does one evoke emotions in others? In what circumstances does one fail to control oneself? Is there a difference between individual emotions and those of a crowd? These are the questions that Seneca raises in the *Troades* through the presentation of various events whose heroines are women and therefore privileged subjects of analysis—because, as we shall see, it emerges in the *Consolations* addressed to Marcia and to Helvia that women are particularly open to pain—but they are not entirely representative, since, in his mind, their *genus* constituted a secondary category of humanity.

Seneca's *Consolations* to Marcia and Helvia

Both of Seneca's consolatory texts reveal somewhat differing opinions about women, but they are more or less in harmony because they have their roots in Roman ideology and popular opinion, in Stoic doctrine, or in personal convictions. In the *Consolation to Marcia,* who has lost her son, Seneca explains the ways in which women excessively give themselves over to grief, as manifesting *infirmitas muliebris animi* ("women's weakness of mind," 1.1).[3] The call to be restrained in expressing grief, which applies to everyone, is particularly relevant for women: *Moderandum est itaque uobis maxime, quae* ***inmoderate fertis****, et in multos dolores humani pectoris <uis> dispensanda* ("Therefore you women especially must show moderation, you who are immoderate in your behavior, and against the many sorrows that assail it the impetuousness of the human heart must be controlled," 11.1). Nevertheless, and most happily, Marcia and Helvia (whom Seneca was seeking to console over his own exile to Corsica) were the exception. The former escapes the weakness inherent in her sex owing to her *robur animi et magno experimento adprobata uirtus* ("strength of spirit and excellence of character confirmed by a great test," 1.1). Seneca twice forbids the latter to seek any excuses in the *muliebre nomen* (16.1, 5). The term *nomen* itself implies that a separate genus of *muliebres* exists.[4] While its precise relationship to the *humanum* genus is not specified, it apparently constitutes a subcategory possessing somewhat negative characteristics, since it is associated, as is the *infirmitas muliebris animi* in his words to Marcia, with women's tendency to succumb to pain (*Cons. Hel.* 16.1):

> Non est quod utaris excusatione muliebris nominis, cui paene concessum est immoderatum in lacrimis ius, non inmensum tamen, et ideo maiores decem mensum spatium lugentibus uiros dederunt ut cum pertinacia muliebris maeroris publica constitutione deciderent. Non prohibuerunt luctus sed finierunt; nam et infinito dolore, cum aliquem ex carissimis amiseris, adfici stulta indulgentia est, et nullo inhumana duritia: optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum est et **sentire desiderium et opprimere**.
>
> You cannot use as an excuse the name of woman, who has almost been allowed an immoderate, yet not unlimited, right to shed tears; and that is why our ancestors granted a period of ten months in which to mourn a husband, so as to make a compromise with the stubbornness of female grief through a public order. They did not forbid mourning, but rather limited it; indeed, when we have lost someone very dear, to feel endless pain is to display foolish indulgence; and to feel none is inhuman hardness. The best balance between deep devotion and reason is to feel regret and to smother it.

If Helvia is unable to use the name of woman as an excuse, Seneca continues, it is because she has none of the faults (*uitia*) of her sex (*non potest muliebris excusatio contingere ei a qua omnia muliebria uitia afuerunt*, 16.2). With this word he signifies several types of behavior that he groups under a single name: *impudicitia* ("shamelessness," 16.3). In Roman ideology, women's ultimate *uirtus* ("excellence of character") was *pudor* ("moral propriety"). The wording chosen by Seneca, which shifts from the phrase *muliebris excusatio* to *omnia muliebria uitia*, collectively referred to as *impudicitia*, leads his readers to suppose that—in the range of possible female behavior types—women, having to choose between respect or contempt for *pudor*, tend to show contempt more often than respect. Otherwise Helvia would not be the exception. Since Seneca then assimilates women who are "separated" from their sex by their virtues with "superior men," the result is that *uirtus* is usually, if not exclusively, the preserve of men: *Ne feminae quidem te sinent intabescere uulneri tuo, sed ~leuior~ necessario maerore cito defunctam iubebunt exsurgere, si modo illas intueri uoles feminas quas conspecta uirtus inter magnos uiros posuit* ("Women themselves will not allow you to let yourself be consumed by your wound, but will order you to recover quickly, after you have paid your dues in mourning, as you must do, if you at least wish to look on those women whose remarkable virtue has placed in the company of superior men," 16.5). Seneca gives two examples of these exceptional women: Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and Rutilia,

the mother of Cotta and one of Seneca's contemporaries. Even though the terms that Seneca chooses for female moral qualities here—*pudor, impudicitia*, *uirtus*—are part of Roman ideological discourse, his way of using them seems to go beyond popular opinion and to arise instead from a personal conviction that displays a certain hostility. Thus, for Seneca, women are a subcategory within humankind and have a lesser capacity for *ratio* and, therefore, for *uirtus*.

Seneca also mentions Cornelia in his *Consolation to Marcia*, on account of her resistance to the pain of mourning (16.3). This example precedes a general statement inspired by Stoicism. Nature cannot have been malicious toward women, and therefore they are not inferior to men when it comes to *uirtutes*: *Quis autem dixit naturam maligne cum mulierum ingeniis egisse et uirtutes illarum in artum retraxisse? par illis, mihi crede,* ***uigor*** *par ad honesta, libeat <modo>, facultas est; dolorem laboremque ex aequo, si consueuere, patiuntur* ("Yet who has said that nature behaved in a malicious way with regard to the natural disposition of women, whose virtues it reduced to a bare minimum? Believe me, they have vigor equal to that of men, and an equal capacity to do what is honorable, if they so wish to, and they withstand pain and hardship in the same manner if they have grown accustomed to it," 16.1). What importance should be given to this statement? Not only is this idea expressed in the form of a question, which is unlikely to be merely rhetorical, but it also includes two conditions that have more than their fair share of restrictions, since one introduces the idea of desire and the other of habituation. A lack of restraint when it comes to desire is, in fact, a key element in Seneca's definition of a woman's distinctive characteristics (a harsh assessment, and therefore all the more revealing of what he really believes) in *De constantia sapientis*, a text whose reader, this time, is intended to be a man: *aeque inprudens animal est et, nisi scientia accessit ac multa eruditio, ferum, cupiditatium incontinens* ("she is a being who is both deprived of prudence and—unless knowledge and a great deal of erudition are added—cruel, and with no control over her desires," 14.1). It would seem that this gives an undisguised example of how Seneca viewed women. The point of view presented to Marcia, on the other hand, is based on pure theory, whereas the passages from the *Consolation* to his mother constitutes an intermediary position in which the philosopher seems to refer to a general opinion, according to which a *genus muliebris* exists, characterized (in relation to men) as subject to *infirmitas*. It is clearly of interest that this *infirmitas* appears to be manifested as an inability to control oneself when faced with pleasure/desire or with pain, in other words, as a "lack" that produces an "excess."

Hecuba and the Captives

With these philosophical stakes in mind, I now turn to the *Troades*, whose women suffer in full measure the sorrows articulated by Aeneas in his famous words to Dido at the outset of his account of the sack of Troy in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*: *Infandum, regina, iubes renouare dolorem* ("you bid me renew unspeakable pain, Queen," 2.3). Aeneas's first words to Dido were ingrained in the collective memory of imperial Rome, for their supposed origin had made the Romans particularly sensitive to the sufferings of Troy.

The *Troades* begins with a monologue by Hecuba, who demands to be looked at (*Troad*. 1–6):

> Quicumque regno fidit et magna potens
> dominatur aula nec leues metuit deos
> animumque rebus credulum laetis dedit,
> me uideat et te, Troia: non umquam tulit
> documenta fors maiora, quam fragili loco
> starent superbi.

> Whoever trusts in sovereign power, and strongly governs over his vast court, who fears not the fickle gods and has trustingly given himself up to joy, let him look on me and on you, Troy.[5] Never did fortune give greater proof of how fragile is the place where those who swollen by pride take their stand.

Although this line is addressed to Hecuba's companions, who are the only others onstage, it is also intended for the audience. Seneca often cites reversals of fortune to illustrate the hazards of human existence when he teaches about resistance to pain in his theoretical works. The context here—a military defeat—is the type of situation in which Stoic wisdom and the Roman ideology of *uirtus* hold the same position, as is confirmed by the many exemplary words or situations Seneca borrows from Roman history. Hecuba does not aspire to Stoic wisdom,[6] but she could, according to the Roman tradition, be considered a heroic figure, since she responds to her circumstances by displaying what the Romans viewed as moral excellence. Her speech is perfectly controlled, full of terms that command, make observations, and exhort: *me uideat* (4); *en* (15, 58); *testor* (28); *uidi* (36, 44); *respice* (42); *ecce* (57); *ferite*, *date* (64); *facite* (65). She expresses neither a mother's despair nor the fear of a captive destined for exile and slavery. This is the former queen of Troy speaking, proud of her city and its warriors.

According to the principle of *enargeia*, Hecuba, in a description that switches between a general overview and a focus on details, conjures up the spectacle of the sacking of Troy for her audience by recalling how walls, houses, and temples were destroyed, pillaged, and torched. According to the Roman rhetorical tradition,[7] depicting the sacking of a city in great detail is a recommended means of arousing the listener's indignation or pity[8]. By playing on the contrast between past and present, this device makes the audience "see" in their imagination both the city's greatness and its violent destruction. Undoubtedly, the play's spectators are not the only ones thus affected. The situation of the Trojan women lends itself to being continually repeated; presumably similar words were previously heard by the Greeks and that these utterances, too, were intended to provoke an emotional reaction.

Hecuba explains that neither the scale nor the horror of the devastation took her by surprise: *quicquid aduersi accidit* / *. . . prior Hecuba uidi grauida nec tacui metus* / *et uana uates ante Cassandram fui* ("all of the adversity that has overwhelmed us . . . I, Hecuba, was the first to see it while I was pregnant and I did not keep my fears quiet; and before Cassandra I prophesied in vain," 33.36–7). In the *Consolation to Marcia*, Seneca comments: *quae multo ante prouisa sunt languidius incurrunt* ("that which is foreseen far in advance hits us with less force," 9.2). The queen goes even further: denying the Greeks the glory of victory, she identifies *herself* as the root cause of the fall of her homeland: *meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis* ("this fire is mine; these are my torches that burn you," 40).

She then stops suddenly, saying that the fall of Troy is now in the past; she should instead cry over more recent griefs (*luctus recentes*, 43): Priam's death and the fate of the captives who, after the drawing of lots, are going to be assigned as booty to various Greek masters. Her last words are for her declared addressees, her companions, whom she instructs to renew their lamentations, presented as the fulfillment of the mourning ritual demanded by their situation (*Troad.* 63–6):

> Lamenta cessant? Turba, captiuae, mea,
> ferite palmis pectora et planctus date
> et iusta Troiae facite. Iamdudum sonet
> fatalis Ide, iudicis diri domus.

> Do you cease your lamentations? Captives, my company racked by troubles, strike your breast with your hands, loudly lament your pain and do what is right for Troy. It is time for fatal Ida to resound, home of the fateful judge.

In the passage that follows, the queen acts as the leader of the chorus, directing their manifestations of *dolor* in the form of a mourning ritual, with the goal of intensifying them. As mentioned above, the Trojan women are presented as a group that is accustomed to grieving, for they have been crying for years. This observation is important, insofar as it is also of value on a psychological level: Seneca believes women can withstand pain if they are used to it. This is why he makes Hecuba's companions speak in a way that seems to be a product of their will to reassert their collective identity one last time before being separated, rather than a spontaneous expression of their grief.

In order for them to beat their breasts, the queen asks her companions to strip their bodies bare to the waist, using their scarves as belts for their open tunics. This is a deliberately indecent state. But *cui coniugio / pectora uelas, captiue pudor?* (89–90); there is no longer any possibility of decency for a captive who is destined for a forced union. By being undraped, which is intended to attract attention, the Trojan women will be able to beat their breast more easily because both their hands will be unencumbered. Emphasizing the pleasure in the act (*placet hic habitus, / placet*, 93–4), Hecuba insists on the violence that is to be inflicted on those naked breasts—*uacet ad crebri uerbera planctus / furibunda manus* ("may your furious hand be free to strike repeated blows," 92–3)—that will be beaten until they bleed (*Troad*. 116–22):

> tibi nostra ferit dextra lacertos,
> umerosque ferit tibi sanguineos,
> tibi nostra caput dextera pulsat,
> tibi maternis ubera palmis
> laniata iacent: fluat et multo
> sanguine manet quamcumque tuo
> funere feci rupta cicatrix.
>
> For you my hand strikes my arm; for you it strikes my bleeding shoulders; for you my hand beats my head; for you my breasts hang down, torn by your mother's hands: may they flow and stream with blood, open, all the scars from wounds inflicted at your funerals.

These blows, because of their number, intensity, and bloody effects,[9] seem to be intended as a symbolic equivalent to the violence inflicted by the Greeks on the Trojan warriors during battles and on the city during its sacking. If all of the women's self-induced battering is excessive, then it is deliberately so, insofar as

this excess does not result from an outpouring of uncontrolled grief but instead seeks to exhibit the women's *dolor*.

Two of the most famous Trojans are the "subjects" of the lamentations that the queen makes to her companions, for she controls more than their body language. Hecuba orders the Trojan women to weep for first Hector, who is extolled as the "pillar of the homeland" (*columen patriae*, 123) that fell on the same day when he died, and then, twice over, for Priam. The chorus initially praises the latter both as the king of a powerful city that resisted the Greek attacks led by Hercules on two occasions, and as the member of his large family who was the last to be killed. Then, responding to a new request from Hecuba, the chorus celebrates Priam's happiness, since he was set free by death; therefore he did not witness defeat and will never experience the humiliation of slavery (*Troad.* 149–55):

> non Argolici praeda triumphi
> subiecta feret colla tropaeis;
> non adsuetas ad sceptra manus
> post terga dabit currusque sequens
> Agamemnonios aurea dextra
> uincula gestans latis fiet
> pompa Mycenis.
>
> He will not be the booty of Argolic triumph, he will not bend his neck under their trophies, his hands, which were used to wielding the scepter, will not be bound behind his back, he will not follow Agamemnon's chariot in gold fetters, he will not be the star attraction in the procession through vast Mycenae.

This passage is crucial, because Hecuba, in portraying what Priam has avoided, is also describing exactly what awaits the captives. The horror of their fate[10] is therefore depicted indirectly, which attests to the queen's refusal to pity her fate and that of her companions. Nevertheless, the end that awaits the Trojan women is described with particular force, rendering their situation more worthy of compassion, because the picture Hecuba paints is directly inspired by a spectacle with which the Romans were well acquainted: the triumph.[11] For, as Mary Beard has shown,[12] in the Romans' triumph, the infamous situation of the captives, particularly the women, has the paradoxical effect of arousing in the crowd of spectators an emotion that is stronger than that induced by the vision of the triumphant victors, thereby upstaging them.

I shall make one final observation on the same point. During the ten years of the war, the Trojan women have poured out their grief, which is implicitly presented as the female equivalent of the military activities that were the common lot of the men (68–78).[13] The latest female lamentations voice these male concerns: they speak only of the power of the city, of the valor of the warriors, and even of their relief at having escaped slavery through death. Hecuba demands that these lamentations be especially strong, insisting that they must be heard throughout the region, because they are the ultimate expression of Trojan *dolor*. The words that recur time and again are *Troia* (85, 102, 111, 133) and *patria* (123, 128). The aim of these lamenting women is therefore also, and above all, related to their civic identity: this is the final expression voiced by the female community of Troy before it is dispersed, which will mean the complete eradication of the city. This is the ultimate proof of the power of the women's spirit—of the mothers, wives, and daughters of the warriors who were overwhelmed by a reversal of fate, rather than by their enemies.

Andromache

I shall leave out the subsequent scene—in which, after Talthybius announces Achilles's claim, Pyrrhus and Agamemnon confront each other until the arrival of Calchas—as well as the second chorus,[14] since the focus of my analysis is the Trojan women's reaction to these two new twists of fate. The first woman to speak is Andromache, whom Seneca considers to be an exemplary figure: as the wife of Hector and mother of Astyanax, she has been, is being, and will be subjected to an extreme level of emotional stress. In her very first lines, Seneca has Andromache say that she believes the pain spoken of by the Trojan women to be less intense than her own, precisely because it can be expressed by crying: *leuia perpessae sumus* / *si flenda patimur* ("what we have endured is slight if we can withstand expressing it through tears," 411–2). Andromache speaks of the feeling of destruction that has taken hold of her since her husband's death: *tunc* ***obruta*** *atque* ***euersa*** *quodcumque accidit* / ***torpens*** *malis* ***rigensque sine sensu*** *fero* ("since then, crushed and destroyed, I am bearing whatever happens, numbed by my pain, made stiff, with no more feeling," 416–7). There is nothing paradoxical about her remarks here: it is generally accepted that once pain has gone beyond a certain level of intensity, it is no longer marked by any sign of emotion. Seneca, however, will show that her words are false: once faced with Ulysses, Andromache will not remain impassive, even though she tries.

Her statement is also untrue because she has a young son, whose existence does not allow her to die, as she herself acknowledges (*morique prohibet*, 420),

but who also—and she is unaware of this—subjects her to the power of emotion. On account of Astyanax, Andromache says she still *fears*, while having no *hope* for the future: *Hic mihi malorum maximum fructum abstulit, / nihil timere: prosperis rebus locus / ereptus omnis, dira qua ueniant habent; / miserrimum est timere, cum speres nihil* ("He has taken away the greatest benefit of misfortune: feeling no fear; any space for happiness has been snatched from me, and that which is fateful can still find a way in; the greatest suffering is to fear when there is no hope," 422–5). For fear and hope—as all philosophers teach—are obstacles to wisdom. They make people vulnerable by putting them at the mercy of anyone who knows how to take advantage of their emotions. Not only does Andromache *fear* for her son's life, but she also feels *hope* because she sees him as another Hector; that is an additional reason why she loves the boy (*Troad.* 461–8):

> O nate, magni certa progenies patris,
> spes una Phrygibus, unica afflictae domus,
> ueterisque suboles sanguinis nimium inclita
> nimiumque patri similis—hos uultus meus
> habebat Hector, talis incessu fuit
> habituque talis, sic tulit fortes manus,
> sic celsus umeris, fronte sic torua minax
> ceruice fusam dissipans iacta comam.
>
> O my child, you are the true offspring of a valorous father, the only hope of the Phrygians, the unique hope of a stricken house, the descendent of an ancient bloodline, too illustrious, too like your father—my Hector had your features, the same walk, the same look, his hands were strong like this, so were his shoulders straight; so his fierce head, as he was scattering his locks tossed back on his neck which he shook.

Her behavior is what was expected from a widow: she must make sure that her husband's line continues through her son. This is confirmed by another element in the story: Hector has appeared to her in a dream, enjoining her to hide Astyanax. Andromache fully subscribes to the values and concerns that inspired her husband while he was alive. Her beloved husband, whose traits can be perceived in the young Astyanax, is described solely as a warrior. Hector was destined to govern Troy one day; what Andromache explicitly wishes is for her son to reestablish Pergamon and return it to its former glory (469–74). This argument would have struck a chord with the Roman public: history and ideology came together in the demand for mothers to ensure that their sons maintained the *honor* of their *gens*.

Andromache eventually hides Astyanax in Hector's tomb. Just as she makes the child go inside, she is overcome with emotion—the first sign that the impassiveness of which she had previously boasted is weakening: *Sudor per artus frigidus totos cadit. / Omen tremesco misera feralis loci* ("A cold sweat is flowing over all my limbs. Unhappy I fear the omen of this dark place," 487–8). Four of its words—*sudor, frigidis*, *totos*, *cadit*—allude to an extraordinary passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that represents a woman beset by powerful emotions (*Met*. 5.632–5). Ovid describes the fear felt by Arethusa, a nymph whom Diana momentarily saved from being pursued by Alpheus by hiding her in a cloud, but who remains under pressure from the river-god who prowls around her.[15] The Ovidian reference serves as a sign. The nymph's emotions are expressed through physical stress: a cold sweat betrays her in the end. This is also what will happen to Astyanax's mother when Ulysses begins to harass her.

Ulysses, the king of Ithaca, puts himself forward as the spokesman for all the Greeks when he addresses Andromache. He acknowledges that it is *dolor* (pain), *iniustus* / *. . . rerum aestimator* ("unjust judge of circumstances," 545–6) that dictates their behavior. After ten years, the old soldiers fear that war could happen again (*bella* / *. . . senex miles timet*, 547–8), and they "are troubled" (*mouet*, 550) at the thought of a future Hector. Andromache replies that Astyanax has disappeared: he has either fled or is already dead. Ulysses then threatens to torture her. Seneca has based his Andromache on the Roman model of exceptional women that we encountered in his two *Consolations*: this is a woman who is unaffected by threats. Nevertheless, when she swears that Astyanax is now resting among the dead, what gives her away to the most astute of all the Greeks, who is carefully scrutinizing her, is her inability to control herself completely. She cries and moans; in other words, she displays behavior that is culturally coded as the expression of great *dolor*. Ulysses realizes, however, that those movements are controlled, because *other* gestures, of which she is unaware, reveal that she is in fact at the mercy of *another* profound emotion, which Ulysses finally identifies as fear (*Troad*. 615–8):

> Maeret, illacrimat, gemit; 615
> sed huc et illuc **anxios** gressus refert
> missasque uoces aure sollicita excipit:
> magis haec **timet quam maeret**.
>
> She grieves, she weeps, she moans; she wanders anxiously here and there, catching fretfully each word spoken to her; her fear is greater than her grief.

At that point, Ulysses only needs to mention the death that awaits Astyanax—to be thrown from the top of a tower—to see before him a violent manifestation of that fear, of which Andromache herself becomes aware: *Reliquit animus membra, quatiuntur, labant / torpetque uictus frigido sanguis gelu* ("my mind has abandoned my limbs; they are agitated, they stagger, my blood is growing numb, vanquished by an icy cold," 623–4). With his theory proven, Ulysses intensifies the unhappy mother's emotions by conjuring up (with the technique used by Hecuba) what would have happened if Astyanax had been hunted, found, and dragged from his hiding place, and Andromache tries in vain to counter with words what her body betrays: *Tenetur. Perge, festina, attrahe— / quid respicis trepidasque? Iam certe perit* ("We have him. Continue, hurry up, bring him in. Why do you turn away and tremble? For he is already dead!" 630–1).

Ulysses now moves on to another subject about which he knows Andromache feels passionately, and thereby unwittingly discovers the truth. He announces that, to compensate for Astyanax's loss, the oracle has ordered the destruction of Hector's tomb and the scattering of his ashes. Torn between her two worst fears, Andromache, after a momentary inner debate, decides to save the one whom the Danaans fear (662), which is, once again, the response of a warrior's wife. What is more, she does so in two ways, since she is also stirred into action by trying to come between Ulysses and the tomb, like an Amazon: *in medios ruam / tumuloque cineris socia defenso cadam* ("I shall rush among you and, by defending the tomb, fall as an ally coming to rescue the ashes," 676–7). In *Medea*, Seneca shows that losing all sense of reality to the point of hallucination is the extreme expression of a passion taken to its climax. In the *Troades*, at the moment when her emotions are at their highest point, Andromache imagines that she sees Hector's ghost coming to her aid by brandishing his arms and throwing flames.

The way in which Seneca conceives of the clash between Ulysses and Andromache is very telling with regard to his opinion of women and their (in)capacity to control themselves. Like Marcia, Andromache is *longe ab infirmitate muliebris animi* ("far from the weakness of women's minds," 1.1). This scene, in which she shows herself to be in command of her words but not her body, clearly demonstrates that, for Seneca, the *corpus* of a woman is not controlled by the *animus*. Her emotions are revealed through her body, even if she manages to contain them in her speech. Her final hallucination is the sign of an excess of grief, which removes her from reality for a moment.

Is a woman bound to lose during a confrontation with a man who, unlike her, is capable of resisting emotion in all its forms? This is what the rest of the scene

shows. Andromache begs on her knees, in vain, for Ulysses to take pity on her (691–704). Having revealed her son's hiding place because she fears he may die when the tomb is destroyed, she again seeks to stir Ulysses's emotions. She pushes her child before her, trying, for a few moments, to turn him into the model of a young supplicant: she asks Astyanax to kneel down (as she has just done), kiss Ulysses's hand, and cry. The king of Ithaca is moved, but not weakened: *Matris quidem me maeror attonitae movet / magis Pelasgae me tamen matres mouent, / quarum iste magnos crescit in luctus puer* ("I am certainly moved by the affliction of a defeated mother; but what moves me even more are the Pelasgian mothers that this child, when he grows up, will plunge into endless mourning," 736–8). Comparing one grief with another means being able to reason; being able to reason means being able to decide whether or not to yield—in other words, to control one's emotions. Here, *ratio* wins easily over an emotion that is expressed in but a single line. Ulysses is not a cruel man; he regrets that he is not allowed to pity Andromache (762–3) and grants her a moment to weep: *Arbitrio tuo / implere lacrimis* ("Weep your fill of tears," 764–5). Andromache, for her part, remains dignified in her grief, even if she expresses it freely in words. The expression with which Ulysses interrupts her, *nullus est flendi modus* (812), is ambiguous: does it mean "there is no limit to your grief" or rather (as I believe), "there is no limit to grief" (that is, when one yields to it)?

Hecuba and her companions gave the impression of having control over both their verbal expressions and the physical manifestation of their emotions, with, more or less, the aim of using both in order to arouse the compassion of the vanquishers. From that perspective, this scene marks a failure for women. Nonetheless, the play is not over yet!

Helen

The scene discussed above is followed by a lamentation from the third chorus, bewailing the fate that awaits the captives, who are destined to be scattered among the different Greek cities as slaves. Helen arrives, sent by the Greeks to announce what awaits Polyxena. Helen believes that *optanda mors est sine metu mortis mori* ("it is a preferable death to die with no fear of death," 869). She thereby underestimates the Trojan women's strength of mind. But Helen is no doubt projecting her own fears; she therefore prefers to lie about Polyxena's fate (being killed as a sacrificial offering), saying instead that she is destined to marry Pyrrhus. Helen, whom Andromache violently attacks for having caused the war, defends herself with a series of arguments—her first word is *ratione* (903)—but ends her plea in tears: *uix lacrimas queo / retinere* ("I can hardly withhold my tears," 925–6).

This emotion, which is suspicious coming from the woman who is held responsible for—and is indifferent to (*lenta*, 897)—all the deaths and battles brought about by the war, alerts Andromache, who thinks it may be a trick by Ulysses. For Helen to be reduced to tears, the event that she is announcing must be terrible indeed: *Quantum est, Helena quod lacrimat, malum! / Cur lacrimat autem?* ("How great must be the misfortune that Helen is crying for! But why does she cry?" 926–7). As in the previous scene with Andromache, it is Helen's body that betrays her. The utmost swiftness with which this happens can be explained by her weaker character, which is indicated by the lie and, to Seneca's way of thinking, is no doubt due to the precedence Helen has given to love and desire in her life. It would seem that he thus wished to demonstrate the inferior quality of the mind he believed an adulterous woman to possess.

Polyxena

The difference between Helen's and Polyxena's behavior is striking. Seneca has chosen never to give the young girl a directly spoken line; instead it is Andromache who comments on her attitude. Polyxena immediately prepares herself for this sacrificial death and, as Andromache explains, looks on it as a wedding,[16] thereby reversing what Helen has just said. The same fortitude is evident in Hecuba, who, after a brief lapse—*luctu . . . audito stupet* ("when this grief was announced, she was struck dumb," 949)—welcomes this turn of affairs as a deliverance, as does her daughter Polyxena (*felicem*, 953, 965–8), for which Cassandra and Andromache envy her. Line 967, which explains that the tears flowing down Polyxena's face like "a sudden rainfall" (*imber . . . subitus*, 966) are tears of joy—*Laetere, gaude, nata* ("Rejoice, be glad, my daughter," 967)—serve as confirmation of her happiness. This is a physical expression of her *emotion*, which is apparently beyond her control, and which, as was also the case for Andromache and Helen, shows the strength of what she is *feeling* at that moment.

The *Dolor* of the Crowd

As Andromache then comments, it is not Polyxena, but rather the other Trojan women, who should now grieve for the fate that awaits them. Yet when Helen reveals to each of them the master to whom they are destined—Pyrrhus for Andromache, Agamemnon for Cassandra, and Ulysses for Hecuba—none of them give way to pain. Hecuba even announces that she is ready to follow Ulysses straight away, certain that her fate will follow her and bring misfortune on her enemies. When Pyrrhus arrives, Hecuba adds that she asks the gods for seas worthy of Polyxena's sacrifice.

Her response is followed by a final intervention from the chorus. Can this be understood as the Trojan captives' final speech?[17] Donald Hill does not believe so. The metrics are the same as in the previous chorus, as is the context: the two choruses follow poignant scenes that are the preludes to the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena. Both of them "certainly provide respite from the harrowing scenes that precede, separate, and follow them," which does not correspond to what the captives are feeling. As far as this latter chorus is concerned, the argument that they can be identified as Trojan women is based on the presence of the adjective *nostras*, but, according to Hill, this may be inaccurate.[18] I shall note that the two choruses evoke the captives' fate after the lots have been drawn. The first lists the various locations of their future slavery, in the hope that this will not be Sparta, Argos, Mycenae, Neritos, or Ithaca—in other words, that they will not be the slaves of Menelaus, Agamemnon, or Ulysses. The second notes that it is sweet to suffer when people all share the same fate, as has been the case for each of the Trojan women thus far (*Troad*. 1009–12):

> Dulce maerenti populus dolentum,
> dulce lamentis resonare gentes;
> lenius luctus lacrimaeque mordent,
> turba quas fletu similis frequentat.

> It is sweet for a person who suffers to see a people in pain; it is sweet that the nations echo with lamentations; mourning and tears burn less when all around you a crowd mourns in the same way.

The apparent paradox of this phenomenon is explained by the fact that pain is bad (*Semper, a semper dolor est malignus*, 1013): pain rejoices if its misfortune can be shared by others (*gaudet in multos sua fata mitti*, 1014), and, if possible, by everyone (1016–7, 1023–5)! This is a psychological observation, which has the effect of minimizing *dolor*—insofar as pleasure can be perceived here (*dulce*, *gaudet*)—thereby taking some of the value away from the captives' expression of their suffering until then (since *uirtus* and pleasure were incompatible for Seneca).[19] It is also a means of implying that their *dolor* is going to increase. This is confirmed by the chorus's final words, which evoke what is now in store for the Trojan women: to be scattered, and for each of them to board a ship and see the coast of Troy fade into the distance (1047–55).

A messenger arrives immediately afterward, announcing the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena. Both of these sacrificial killings have affected the Greeks. Will the vanquishers finally feel compassion for the defeated? This question, im-

plicitly asked in the opening part of the play, is now, at the end, given a positive response in the two events that have resulted from the Greeks' very refusal to give in to pity. Neither the Trojan women's laments nor Andromache's supplications have previously had any effect.

The victors' will and the victims' chance location come together to create a spectacle out of each of these deaths. Astyanax is thrown from the last remaining place that symbolizes Troy's power: the only tower remaining from the ramparts, where Priam used to come with his grandson to watch the battles. Polyxena's sacrifice takes place on Achilles's tomb, in front of which a small valley gently slopes *theatri more* ("like a theater," 1125). Neither of the victims speaks a single word; instead, their bodies speak for them. The emotion they displayed is the same: fierce pride, with both individuals described as *ferox* (1098, 1152). Although there is no difference in the way in which Astyanax and Polyxena behave, the Greeks' reaction to each of them differs slightly, on account of their gender. In Astyanax, who is compared with the young of a great beast, they recognize the nobility of his people: the enemy's bloodline is cut down, along with the boy (1127–8). Polyxena's sacrifice has been disguised as a marriage, and her beauty, tender age, and the vicissitudes of fortune add to the emotion of the spectators. Their emotion is heightened by the young girl's courage at the moment of her death. In the text that lies behind this passage (Book 12 of *Metamorphoses*), the iconoclastic perspective of Ovid, who openly challenges the warriors' values through a blatant attack on Achilles, is that true *uirtus* has been embodied by a woman during the Trojan war: Polyxena. Although Seneca also values the final victim of Achilles, whom he describes without sympathy, the playwright's perspective is different. It is striking that Ovid's Polyxena, when she falls, is careful to retain her *pudor* (considered a female virtue), and that Seneca's character is careful not to lose her heroic state of mind: *Nec tamen moriens adhuc / deponit animos: cecidit ut Achilli grauem / factura terram, prona et irato impetus* ("and even in death she did not abandon her courage; she fell, as if to make the earth heavy for Achilles, by throwing herself forwards in a surge of great anger," 1157–9). Thus, in contrast to Andromache, Polyxena is not betrayed by her body, and this is no doubt the reason why Seneca characterizes her as *audax uirago* (1151), a description that conforms to his view of exceptional women. For *uirago* is a term Servius annotates with the key phrase *mulier quae uirile implet officium* ("a woman who fulfils the duty of a man," ad *Aen*. 12.468). Thus Seneca's Polyxena is admirable because she sublimates her sex by becoming equivalent to a man.[20]

Both instances highlight collective emotion. As was the case with the first chorus, this passage offers Seneca an opportunity to introduce psychological

(rather than philosophical) observations about pain. In the crowd attending the sacrifices, the messenger distinguishes between two groups: the Greeks and the Trojans. The Greeks recognize that this is a crime, and they loathe it, but they watch it all the same, "like a spectacle" (*odit scelus spectatque*, 1129). The Trojans feel grief mixed with terror, and they cry out less strongly (*at timidum Phryges / misere gemitum, clarius uictor gemit*, 1160–1). As was the case with the fourth chorus, which spoke of pleasure in relation to pain, here Seneca drives one emotion into another: fascination into pity and fear into grief. But the former is more murky than the latter. Does the Greeks' compassion arise from the fact that killing is forbidden? Or from the fact that it is the supreme cruelty with regard to a child and a young girl? Or from the fact that it is the greatest reversal of fortune?[21] The phrase *odit scelus spectatque* invites the spectators to suppose that there is pleasure in witnessing a killing if it is endured with a complete mastery of the emotions—in other words, just like grief, pity, too, can be a negative emotion!

Conclusion

I now wish to return to the fortitude of the Trojan women, for whom, in Seneca's play, the circumstances of the postwar period afford an exceptional opportunity to put their strength to use. A large part of this philosopher's writings focuses on the need to resist pain and the fear of death when faced with life's extreme situations. His *Troades* makes individual women—Andromache, Polyxena, and Hecuba—examples of the greatness of mind that Stoicism and Roman ideology expected from the best of them. The first and second of these women are two complementary examples of what Seneca thought of the female *genus*. The body of Andromache betrays her emotions, but she controls them in her words. Polyxena says nothing, and her behavior stirs the admiration of all: she is compared with a man. The penultimate line of the play is left for Hecuba. The queen is ironic about the way in which the Greeks have ended (*peractum*, 1168) the war—with the death of a virgin and a child—and, as her last wish, she asks for the ultimate reversal of fortune: death, which has thus far feared and avoided her. Is everything over for Troy and its last survivors? The play ends with two lines spoken by the messenger, calling for the characters' hasty departure. The wheel of fortune—all the play's spectators know—is now about to turn once more, as Hecuba announced at the very beginning of the *Troades* and exactly as she predicted at the end (*saeuiet uentis mare*, 995). This further reversal, however, will not be because of Hecuba's destiny, as she thought (*me mea sequentur fata*, 994), but rather because of the fate dealt out to another captive, Cassandra, who scarcely features in this play.[22]

NOTES

1. Emotions have received extensive scholarly attention in the field of classical studies over the last twenty-five years. See, in particular, Braund and Gill 1997; Braund and Most 2004; Graver 2007; Kaster 2005; Konstan 2000, 2006; Munteanu 2011; as well as the project on "The Social and Cultural Constructions of Emotions: The Greek Paradigm," launched by Angelos Chaniotis, who is also the editor of four books published by the project: *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean: Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation* (2011), *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World* (2012), *Unveiling Emotions II: Emotions in Greece and Rome: Texts, Images, Material Culture* (2013, together with P. Ducrey), and *Unveiling Emotions III: Emotional Display and Audience in the Greek World* (in preparation). But, to my knowledge, few publications in this area address Seneca. See, however, Motto 2003; Schiesaro 1997. On the *Troades*, see Davis 1989; Mader 1997.

2. On women and mourning, see Prescendi 2000, 2008; Sterbenc-Erker 2004. On the *Consolation to Helvia*, see Harich-Schwarzbauer 2012.

3. On two occasions, Seneca also uses the word *sexus*: *sexum tuum* (1.5) and *sexus et saeculi tui exempla* (2.2). On the use of this word in relation to women, see Spaeth 2011: 139–40.

4. The word *genus* is used, in relation to women, by Seneca's Hippolytus: *feminas, dirum genus* (*Phaedra*, 564).

5. Hecuba offers her own lot, and that of Troy, as evidence of the defeat of the Trojans, both of which confirm (as Marella Nappi remarks in chapter 2) that victory in war is often signified by the submission and capture of women.

6. Seneca *De Vita beata* 4.2: *summum bonum est animus fortuita despiciens, uirtute laetus* ("Sovereign good is the soul that scorns the twists of fate and rejoices in virtue"). Hecuba's behavior corresponds only to the first part of this statement.

7. See, for example, *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.51.

8. See Webb 1997: 121.

9. Seneca has a particular liking for the bloody and the macabre, which can be seen in several of his plays. See Fabre-Serris 1998: 184.

10. See Ducrey (chapter 10) regarding depictions of the Trojan women's cruel fate that appear on Greek vases.

11. See Seneca *Ep. ad Luc.* 71.22 about the triumph.

12. Beard 2007: 111–35.

13. On the fact that Trojan women's speeches provide another point of view and "constitute an important element, in the development of a discourse about the war, distinct from (yet complementary to) the discourse of fighting heroes," see Nappi (chapter 2).

14. On the identity of this second chorus and those that follow, which are not made up of Trojan captives (as is the case with the first chorus), see, in particular, Hill 2000.

15. Ovid *Met.* 5: *sudor* (632), *frigidus* (632), *toto* (633), *cadunt* (635).

16. Seneca *Troad*. 948: *Mortem putabat illud, hoc thalamos putat*.

17. Hill 2000: 586.

18. Hill 2000: 585–6.

19. On the incompatibility between pleasure and grief, according to Seneca, see *Ep. ad. Luc*. 99.22–9.

20. On other representations of heroic women in Latin literature, see Bessone (chapter 7), who finds in Argia "a heroism that infringes on the rules of gender."

21. In an article in which he refers to Aristotle, Konstan 2000 emphasizes that one has pity when one can put oneself in the place of someone who suffers when that person doesn't merit the suffering. If Seneca subscribes to this interpretation, his analysis opens up a perspective critical of a fundamental emotion in the genre of tragedy.

22. See Seneca *Troad*. 968, 977–8.

Love and War

Feminine Models, Epic Roles, and Gender Identity in Statius's *Thebaid*

FEDERICA BESSONE

> Nè cor fu mai più saggio / Che percosso d'amor, nè mai più forte / Sprezzò l'infausta vita, / Nè per altro signore / Come per questo a perigliar fu pronto: / Ch'ove tu porgi aita, / Amor, nasce il coraggio, / O si ridesta.
>
> Nor ever is the heart more wise / Than when Love smites it, nor defies / More scornfully life's misery, / And for no other lord / Will it all dangers face so readily. / When thou thy aid dost lend, / O Love, is courage born, or it revives.
>
> G. Leopardi, *Amore e Morte* (*Canti* XVII, 17–24; trans. Townsend 1887)

In this chapter, I call attention to a feminine role in Statius's epic that challenges distinctions of gender and genre and thereby demonstrates ancient theories that love, though statutorily opposed to war, can transform a woman into a fearless creature and the bravest of warriors.[1] In the course of the *Thebaid*, Polynices's wife Argia shifts from being an abandoned woman to a masculine female hero. I also argue that two mirror-image gender transgressions in the *Thebaid* illustrate love's effecting an exchange of gender roles: the Lemniads prove the theorization by Euripides's Medea that a cowardly woman turns into a murderous creature when wronged in her marriage bed; and Argia's enterprise exemplifies Plato's representation of Eros as the origin of "virtue" (ἀρετή), even in women.

Love and War

"Make love, not war": the pacifist slogan of the '60s is the most emphatic modern formulation of an original antithesis, indeed, an archetypal one. Yet the very mythical archetype of this problematical dichotomy, the affair of Ares and Aphrodite—"the most famous story in the whole of heaven," according to Ovid[2]—is

a symbol of the fatal attraction between the two opposites, just as it presupposes their clash.

Love and war are not only the words representing dueling concepts, and neither are they terms denoting a simple complementarity between opposites. An intrinsic correlation binds this antagonistic pair in an enigmatic rapport, into which Western thought and art have never stopped inquiring. It is not only love *and* war, but also, for example, love *as* war, or love *for* war, that are the themes of representations and reflections throughout the centuries, in forms that range from the tragic to the comic, from philosophy to farce, from the sublime to the ridiculous. Eros and Polemos, as well as Eros and Thanatos, as antithesis and as binomial—a relationship that today joins Freud's psychoanalytical theory, Woody Allen's films, and James Hillman's analyses.[3] It is a motif that generates commonplaces and clichés of our culture, varying from lovers' fights to a fascination with men in uniform. It is, moreover, a theme that involves the construction of gender models and their relational dynamics.

In Greek and Latin culture, the theme of love and war is articulated in many forms. Philosophical discourse proclaims it with allegorical interpretations of myth or with alternatives between life choices, the τίς ἄριστος βίος ("which is the best life") motif.[4] The epic genre develops it in major episodes within its repertory: war because of a woman, the *iuncta mors* ("shared death") of heroes in love, the *apologoi* ("tales") of the hero, or *teichoskopia* ("view from the walls") as an occasion for women to fall in love.[5] It then becomes the task of love elegy, with its programmatic refusal of war, to explore the connections between erotic terms and military language in the "antiphrastic metaphor" of *militia amoris*: "military service in love."[6] Satire plays on the sex appeal that weaponry exerts on women—*ferrum est quod amant* ("it is iron they love," Juv. 6.112)—and erotodidactic literature theorizes the morbid attraction for the victor in war, insinuating that a slave girl takes perverse pleasure in being caressed by murderous hands (Ov. *Ars* 2.715–6). The variations on this theme in Ovidian poetry alone could offer enough material for more than one book.

Love and war have their own gods, but Ares and Aphrodite, given their disturbing reciprocal attraction, tend to exchange roles. The recent and much debated volume by Gabriella Pironti has shed light on the polyvalence of a goddess who, in Greek culture and art, appears intimately connected with Ares—with the world of violence, power, and war.[7] Her masculine and martial dimensions reveal the profound ties between erotic and military spheres: the contiguity of *eris* ("strife") and *eros* ("love"), of erotic fury and belligerent ardor, of sexual and military potency; the analogy between the entanglement of bodies (μῖξις, "mix-

ing") in battle and in sex;[8] the destructive force of erotic desire and the violence of love's domination, both on the cosmos and on human beings. The ambiguity of Aphrodite and the love that she inspires, or for which this goddess is symbol and metaphor, also runs through the history of Latin literature. Lucretius offers a famous example in his proem: the image of Venus as the vital impulse of nature and a peaceful goddess who mollifies Mars's fury with her embrace contradicts the theory of *eros* as *dira libido* ("dire craving") in Book 4: *haec Venus est nobis* ("this is what we call Venus or love," 4.1058). Moreover, reading between the lines, the same embrace of Mars and Venus, invoked in the hymn to bring about peace, announces the theme of "*eros* as war and violence" developed in the scientific treatment that follows, through the paradoxical images of the wounding, conquest, and surrender of the god of war to the goddess of love.[9] The Lucretian contradiction is commented on by Statius (as Gianpiero Rosati has shown) in passages of the *Thebaid* that connect the two sections of *De rerum natura* and complicate the opposition between Mars and Venus by theorizing on the violence of *eros*. Statius mingles the terms through his use of sex-as-war in describing the "sweet crime" (*dulce nefas*) of the Lemnian women, namely, the murder of their husbands, which is cast as a sexual act, a *furor* instigated by a warring Venus, who has even taken on the appearance of Mars: *unde manus, unde haec Mauortia diuae / pectora?* ("whence the goddess's violence, whence this martial heart?" *Theb.* 5.282–3).[10]

"Father Mars," as Ovid narrates in the *Ars*, "distraught by a mad love for Venus, / from fearsome commander had become a lover" (*Mars pater insano Veneris turbatus amore / de duce terribili factus amator erat*, Ov. *Ars* 2.563–64). Raging Venus, in turn, can become a general: *Venus arma tenet, Venus admouet iras* ("Venus holds the weapons, Venus brings the wrath," *Theb.* 5.158), and *stat funesta Venus ferroque accincta furentes / adiuuat* ("baleful Venus stands there and girt with the sword she encourages the mad-women," 5.281–2). This exchange of identity between the goddess of love and the god of war is a suitable image for introducing the subject of my chapter: feminine roles in the *Thebaid* and the paradox of women "in war" for love.

Arma and *Amores*: Love, War, and the Woman between Oppositions (and Superimpositions) of Genre and Gender

The contrast between love and war is also an opposition between gender roles as well as between literary genres: it establishes the social distinction between masculine and feminine, and the programmatic antithesis between epic and elegy. Here, too, these opposites are presented so they can be challenged. By definition,

the epic is a masculine genre, the genre of κλέα ἀνδρῶν ("glories of men"). Love, women, and a woman in love are felt to be foreign elements in all essentialist theorizations of epos, even though they play a crucial role in every epic poem. As Stephen Hinds has shown, this opposition is continually reaffirmed in theory and repeatedly refuted in practice.[11]

The marginality of women with respect to war and war poetry, namely epos, coincides with their belonging to the sphere of love and familial affection. The woman warrior, the Amazon who rejects marriage, is the exception: an irregular feminine model who subverts the social order and whose presence is extraordinary in an epic context. Women's foreignness to weapons excludes females as active protagonists in war. This is not to say, however, that epics confine them to the passive roles of victims or spectators (who are wounded in their affections), or to the diversionary function of a *mora* ("delay") in the narrative, as a love interlude. Alison Keith, among others, has shown that women have a role—often because of love—as either supporters or catalysts of war.[12] Despite the theorizing, women are implicated in the generative mechanisms of epic narration.

Nonetheless, with the exception of the Amazon Camilla—who, in the *Aeneid*, dies "not without fame" (*non . . . indecorem . . . neque . . . sine nomine*, 11.845–6)—women remain excluded from the primary function of epos and its ideological center: its celebratory role, its duty to perpetuate the κλέος ("glory") of the warriors, which is the reason why the epic genre identifies its own program with that of its male heroes—in Hector's words, "*to do* some great deed for men yet to be born to hear" (ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι, Hom. *Il.* 22.305).[13] This is a memorialization that passes on to successive generations the behavioral models, exemplary values, and paradigms of *uirtus* that are valid for the community as well as for the male elite who lead it, all foundational and useful for the State whose power is assured by victory in war.

Woman can accede to epic *glory*, in the strict sense, only in one exceptional case: if she denies her own sex. This is a challenge that must have attracted an audacious poet like Statius, a poet of paradox. The *Thebaid* not only represents the *nefas* ("impiety") of women "in weapons," wives who become murderous because of love, but also—without precedent in the tradition of the epic genre—it celebrates an exemplary bride, the protagonist of a heroic enterprise *in the midst of* weapons: a woman who *becomes* virile in the name of conjugal love.

"In War" for Love: Woman and *Arma* in Statius's Epic

The *Thebaid* is the epic of an impious war, the *fraternae acies* ("fraternal warfare") between the sons of Oedipus for the kingdom of Thebes. Until the duel

between Eteocles and Polynices, for the most part the *Thebaid* is a negative epic that perverts heroic values and challenges the rules of the genre intended to immortalize the κλέα ἀνδρῶν ("glories of heroes"). The struggle for power between the Theban brothers is "a myth to be forgotten," narrated through an inversion of Vergilian formulae, in the manner of Lucan's epic and Senecan tragedy. From the very beginning, the expedition of the Seven is an unjust war and, up through Book 11, the *Thebaid* is an epic without victors and vanquished. But a break separates the final book from the rest of the poem: after the fratricidal duel, Creon, the new tyrant of Thebes, forbids the burial of the dead Argive soldiers. It is then that Theseus, king of Athens, entreated by the Argive women at the *ara Clementiae* ("altar of Clemency"), leads a just expedition against Thebes, kills Creon in a duel, and is welcomed into the city as its liberator. In Book 12, the *Thebaid* becomes an "epic of the victor": the ending, about which there is much debate, gives space, I believe, to a celebration of positive values that are fundamental to imperial ideology—even though exemplarity joins with pessimism, as it does in the tragedy that Statius is rewriting here, Euripides's *The Suppliants*.[14]

Along with presenting Theseus's tyrannicide in Book 12, Statius exalts the heroic challenge to the tyrant by a woman. Women have a prominent role in the poem. They participate in the impious war for power by offering resistance to or implicating themselves in it tragically: Antigone is the heroine of a vain opposition to the fratricidal war; Jocasta (icon of *nefas* and image of a Fury) cannot help but provoke the duel between the brothers whom she tries to separate in an endless "compulsion to repeat" that is at the heart of the tragedy of Thebes.

Statius places a relative newcomer among these feminine figures with a long literary history: Argia, the wife of Polynices.[15] Active throughout the entire poem, she follows its trajectory from crisis to reconstruction. If the king of Athens appears at the end as a deus ex machina, a hero from the outside capable of imposing a solution on the Theban problem, Argia participates as a protagonist in the denouement of events in which she shares responsibility. If Theseus marks the break in the *Thebaid*, Argia represents its continuity and its turning point. This is the evolution of a heroine who initially invokes the war her husband wanted, and, ultimately, repeats and denies her own words in a lament over Polynices's body. This is also the redemption, in a poem set in motion by Oedipus's curse and brought to its resolution by his repentance over the bodies of his children.

Argia, Laodamia, and the "Arethusa Model": Epic and "Elegy in the Feminine"

The Argia of the first books, a *noua nupta* ("newly married bride"), already possesses singular traits. The marriage between Polynices and the daughter of the king of Argus is nothing but *semina belli* ("seeds of war"), an instrument of Jupiter to prompt the expedition of the Seven. Argia, the newlywed from whom war will soon snatch her bridegroom, thus appears as a new Laodamia. In giving her a voice, Statius looks to the tradition of elegy "in the feminine," to Propertius's Arethusa (4.3) and the Laodamia of the Ovidian *Heroides* (*Her.* 13): devoted wives, divided between the world of love and the world of weapons, who lament their separation from their beloveds and protest against war, thus pursuing the antimilitarism of elegiac ideology.[16]

By giving space in his epic to the abandoned bride, the poet triggers a potential conflict of values. Yet in this epos in which war should be exorcised, conjugal love finally cooperates with *nefas* ("impiety") instead of opposing it. At first, Statius creates the typical situation of the abandoned heroine (*relicta*) for Argia, only to make her reject the conventions of that role soon after. The fear of the war that will separate her from Polynices, which Argia expresses in the bridal chamber—*quo tendis iter?* ("whither your journey?" 2.351)—gives way, in the course of one book, to a request for war, addressed to her father, Adrastus: *da bella, pater* ("give war, father," 3.696).

Paradoxically, it is in the name of love that the heroine of the *Thebaid* chooses war—hers is a tormented choice, destined for a tragic end. Argia supports the expedition, in the name of love for her unfortunate husband (*misero . . . marito*, 3.705), out of wifely devotion and pity for Polynices's misery. This is a gesture of docility toward "masculine domination" in a social context that, in Pierre Bourdieu's words, "disposes men to love the games of power and women to love the men who play them."[17] But the impious nature of the Theban war perverts the meaning of that gesture. For Argia, to love her husband means becoming an accomplice to the *nefas*. It is a tragic error that the heroine will set right only at the end of the poem.

I have analyzed elsewhere the contrasting relations between Argia and the Laodamia of Ovid's *Heroides* 13, which Statius signals explicitly.[18] In the catalog of Book 4 of the *Thebaid*, an analepsis reveals Amphiaraus's backstory: how the soothsayer was brought to participate in the expedition through the treachery of his faithless wife, Eriphyle. The flashback recalls Argia's decision to give Eriphyle the necklace of Harmonia, which Polynices had presented to Argia as wedding gift (*Theb.* 4.200–10):

"**non haec** apta mihi nitidis ornatibus" inquit
"**tempora**, **nec** miserae placeant insignia formae
te sine: sat dubium coetu solante timorem
fallere et incultos aris aduerrere crines.
scilicet (infandum!), cum tu claudare minanti
casside ferratusque sones, **ego** diuitis aurum
Harmoniae dotale **geram**? dabit aptius isto
fors decus, Argolicasque habitu praestabo maritas,
cum regis coniunx, cum te mihi sospite templa
uotiuis implenda choris; nunc **induat** illa
quae petit et bellante potest gaudere marito."

These times suit not bright ornaments for me, nor should I take pleasure in decking unhappy beauty without you. Enough to cheat my doubt and fear with consoling company and sweep my undressed hair at the altars. Should I—abominable thought!—wear rich Harmonia's golden dower while you are cased in threatening helm and clank in steel? Fortune shall give me more timely ornament than this and my habit shall outshine Argos's brides when I am a king's consort and with you preserved to me the temples must be filled with votive choirs. For now let her put it on who seeks it and can be merry with her husband at the wars.[19]

Argia here speaks with almost the same words as the Ovidian Laodamia (*Her.* 13.31–42):

nec mihi pectendos cura est praebere capillos,
nec libet aurata corpora ueste tegi.
ut quas pampinea tetigisse Bicorniger hasta
creditur, huc illuc, qua furor egit, eo.
conueniunt matres Phylleides et mihi clamant:
"**indue** regales, Laodamia, sinus!".
scilicet ipsa geram saturatas murice uestes,
bella sub Iliacis moenibus ille **gerat**?
ipsa comas plectar, **galea** caput ille prematur?
ipsa nouas uestes, dura uir arma ferat?
qua possum, squalore tuos imitata labores
dicar, et **haec** belli **tempora** tristis agam.

I care not now to let my hair be dressed, nor does it pleasure me to be arrayed in robes of gold. Like those whom he of the two horns is believed to have

> touched with his vine-leafed rod, hither and thither I go, where madness drives. The matrons of Phyllus gather about, and cry to me: "Put on thy royal robes, Laodamia!" Shall I, then, go clad in garments that are saturated with costly purple, while my lord goes warring under the walls of Ilion? Am I to dress my hair, while his head is weighed down by the helm? Am I to wear new apparel while my lord wears hard and heavy arms? In what I can, they shall say I imitate your toils—in rude attire; and these times of war I will pass in gloom.[20]

The two heroines similarly express their rejection of *cultus* ("adornment") as a manifestation of their suffering in the absence of their husbands at war and as a kind of sympathetic assimilation of their spouses' military weaponry.[21] But this allusive gesture is a provocative one. In the *Thebaid*, the gift Argia *herself* chooses to give Eriphyle has a precise function: it is what ultimately leads to the war. Corrupted by the necklace, Amphiaraus's wife overcomes her spouse's reluctance to join the Seven. By refusing feminine ornaments, Laodamia shows her grief over Protesilaus's absence, and, at the same time, declares her aversion to the war that has snatched away her husband. For Argia, however, depriving herself of what proves to be a fatal ornament constitutes a decisive intervention in favor of the expedition. Her refusal to adorn herself while her husband is fighting is expressed in the same manner as Laodamia's, but Argia's further choice of giving one particular piece of jewelry to Eriphyle instigates a war—the very same war that makes Argia suffer and reject the "care of the self." Here is the paradoxical knot: conjugal love is forced into a tense union with the choice of war. This problematic rapport with the *Heroides* makes Argia's contradictions evident. The conflict between the values of love and war, respectively codified in elegy and in epic, here becomes the interior dilemma of a character divided by opposing forces and caught between antagonistic literary traditions.

But Argia's connection to Arethusa and Laodamia does not end here. The Propertian model of Arethusa, a "synthesis of tradition and modernity,"[22] contains a duplicity that has been well identified by critics: a condemnation of war coexists with a woman's desire to follow her husband into battle. This portends a reconciliation between love and war, between alternatives that "male" elegy had declared irreconcilable. The feminine elegiac voice imagines another role for the elegiac woman, who is already portrayed as a wife: a role that respects the military activity of the *uir Romanus* ("Roman man") but challenges the traditional separation of the male sphere of war and the domestic space of the matron. This is *militia amoris* ("military service in love") in the feminine, and it is

no longer a metaphor: now it is a woman who dreams of literally following her husband into war. This is how Arethusa, in Book 4, inverts gender roles by means of a new transgression in the register of conjugal love: rewriting—in this register—the elegiac scandal of the "girl (*puella*) following the rival into hostile lands" (from Gallus's Lycoris in Vergil's tenth *Eclogue* to Propertius's Cynthia in 1.8).[23]

This attempt to draw elegy close to the world of war permits the reception of the "Arethusa model" into post-Vergilian epic with such examples as Cornelia and Marcia in Lucan, Imilce in Silius Italicus, and Deidamia in the *Achilleid*. These are women who lament their separation from their husbands but no longer question the choice of war and, therefore, the norms and the ideology of the epic genre. These epic *heroides* ("heroines") want to demonstrate their loyalty by following their husbands into the soldiers' camps and even onto the battlefield. But, from Lucan to Silius, the lament of the "bride forsaken for war" in the end gives way to a difficult acceptance of the marginal role reserved for women in the male genre of *arma* ("weapons").

In the *Thebaid*, the dual nature of Arethusa's feminine model, devoted wife and virile matron, becomes the tension between two extremes, situated at the beginning and the end of the poem: on the one hand, the modesty of the newlywed bride, who worries in the *thalamus* ("marriage bedroom") about the violence that threatens her beloved; and, on the other, the unprecedented heroism of the young widow, in search of her husband's corpse on the battlefield. At the beginning of the *Thebaid*, when Argia is faced with the threat of a war that she fears but does not condemn, she barely protests and does not ask to follow Polynices, nor does she even dream of doing so. But the hypothesis of a woman becoming her husband's *comes* ("companion") in the theater of war is destined to be realized in a tragic and sublime scene: in the final book of the *Thebaid*, Argia "follows" the deceased Polynices to Thebes and faces death herself, after the dangers and labors of the march, to perform his funeral honors. Argia, initially a paradigm of a more-than-traditional wife, in the end becomes a striking challenge to the distinction between gender roles.[24] In the name of a fidelity that goes beyond death, she surpasses the "Arethusa model" and reaches the stature of a tragic character, the equal of Antigone.

An Epic in the Feminine

Argia's heroic aspect is already anticipated in her request to Adrastus for war: *nescis, pater optime, nescis / quantus amor castae misero nupsisse marito* ("good father, you know not, you know not the love of a chaste bride wedded to an

unhappy husband," 3.704–5). This sentence, which declares the intensity and strength of her conjugal love, confirms that Argia's character is modeled on the *relicta* ("abandoned woman") tradition. The *sententia* places itself in a series that goes from Arethusa, through Laodamia, to Pompey and Cornelia in Lucan, and to Imilce in Silius. All these examples exalt matrimonial love put to the test by war: *omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in coniuge maior* ("love ever is mighty but mightier far for an acknowledged husband," Prop. 4.3.49);[25] *pectora legitimus casta momordit amor* ("the wifely love I bore you has torn at my faithful heart," Ov. *Her.* 13.30); *heu, quantum mentes dominatur in aequas / iusta Venus!* ("ah! how mighty is the power of wedded love over gentle hearts," Luc. 5.727–8); *castum haud superat labor ullus amorem* ("no danger is too great for wedded love to face," Sil. 3.113). The peculiar note, however, lies in the adjective *misero*: Argia already stands as a candidate for the role of "heroic wife of the unfortunate hero," which will be a decisive role at the end of the poem. As I have noted elsewhere, this is one of the most prestigious feminine roles in ancient literature, represented by the *ueteres heroides* ("ancient heroines") of epic and tragedy, a role already outlined for his wife by the exiled Ovid and defined by Lucan in Pompey's words to Cornelia after Pharsalus (Luc. 8.74–6): what constitutes the glory of a wife is her husband's misfortune, for it is in this that the highest virtue in a woman, her loyalty to her man, gives a sublime proof of itself. It is the woman who, in exception to the norm, plays the hero, on the stage left empty as a result of her husband's ill-fortune.[26]

Ovid promises his wife a fame equal to that of the heroines of myth and exhorts her to a *uirtus* ("virtue") that is more than feminine: not the martial *uirtus* of an Amazon, but the courage, itself worthy of a *uir* ("man"), to fight against adverse *Fortuna* ("Fortune"). Among the heroines of *fides* ("fidelity")—Penelope, Andromache, Evadne, Alcestis, and Laodamia—a still more exclusive club gains access to the height of glory: the sacrifice of one's own life for love of one's husband. The elegiac Ovid does not ask his wife to reach the tragic sublimity of those models by choosing death: *morte nihil opus est pro me* ("I don't need your death," *Trist.* 5.14.41). The *Thebaid*, by contrast, accepts that challenge. With Argia, Statius creates an epic heroine who plays the "heroic wife of the unfortunate hero" to the utmost, and who matches the noblest literary ascendants of that feminine role.

In Book 12 of the *Thebaid*, the expedition of the Seven has ended. The widows and mothers of the warriors march from Argos toward Thebes. Argia, "queen" of the funeral procession, advances with difficulty, with Polynices's name on

her lips. The poet here signals that what is being prepared is a true epic-heroic exploit (*Theb.* 12.134–6):

> ipsa per auersos ducit Saturnia calles
> occultatque uias, ne plebs congressa suorum
> ire uetet pereatque ingentis gloria coepti.
>
> Saturnia herself leads them through bypaths and hides their route lest the crowd of their own folk forbid their journey and the glory of their great enterprise be lost.

In the phrase *ne . . . pereat . . . ingentis gloria coepti*, Statius offers, in a discreet form, the promise of poetic glory for a "great deed"—epically great, in the same way as the *ingentia coepta* of Euryalus and Nisus, or of Pallas in the *Aeneid*.[27] The Argive women's action, which will soon be pursued by Argia alone, announces itself as a glorious and unprecedented epic in the feminine.

This is a new kind of epic. The extraordinary character of the enterprise is already implicit in the paradox of the need to hide from one's own people (*suorum*), as if feminine heroism were first of all an enterprise against one's own community and the gender role that it assigns to women. Furthermore, this may contain a hint of metaliterary self-consciousness: the image of the less-frequented paths (*auersos . . . calles*), as opposed to that of the common folk (*plebs*), is the Callimachaean mark of poetic originality.[28]

Thus far, Argia's journey coincides with that of her fellow women, but it is the news of Creon's prohibition against burying Polynices, brought by a survivor, that isolates the heroine. While the other Argive women choose to go to Athens and beseech Theseus for military aid, Argia continues her journey to Thebes alone. The turning point, which determines her heroic decision, is the prospect not only of death, but of a cruel death inflicted by the tyrant. It is at this point that Statius stages the heroine's metamorphosis: a character who is able to jump, in the space of sixty verses, from tradition to transgression, from the ritual feminine role of lament to a heroism that infringes on the rules of gender (*Theb.* 12.177–86):

> hic non femineae subitum uirtutis amorem
> colligit Argia, sexuque inmane relicto
> tractat opus: placet (egregii spes dura pericli!)
> comminus infandi leges accedere regni,
> quo Rhodopes non ulla nurus nec alumna niuosi

Phasidis innuptis uallata cohortibus iret.
tunc mouet arte dolum, quo semet ab agmine fido
segreget, inmitesque deos regemque cruentum
contemptrix animae et magno temeraria luctu
prouocet; hortantur pietas ignesque pudici.

Here Argia conceives a sudden passion for unwomanly courage and engages in monstrous work, abandoning her sex. She resolves (stubborn hope of noble peril) to confront head on the laws of the impious monarchy, where no bride of Rhodope, no nursling of snowy Phasis flanked by virgin cohorts would go. Then she essays an artful stratagem to detach herself from the faithful train and challenge ruthless gods and the bloody king, despising her life, rash with mighty mourning. Piety and chaste love urge her on.

The *Thebaid* often exhibits gender stereotypes, only to violate them. In Book 1, Argia and Deipyle were defined by contrasting them with the "better sex" (*melior sexus*, 1.393–4). Argia changes, in the space of the poem, from the cliché of female weakness to the paradox of *matrona uirilis* ("virile matron"), which is also a stereotype.[29] Her refusal of the conventional gender role—*sexu . . . relicto* ("having abandoned her sex," 12.178)—is not an isolated instance in the *Thebaid*. The story of the Lemniades, in Book 5, is a negative example—*pellite sexum* ("drive out your sex," 6.205)—offering a *mise en abyme* of the familial *nefas* that is the subject of the poem. The concluding book, however, presents an inspiring version of a woman's virile energy, one that deserves to be the equal of the noble deeds of a traditional hero such as Theseus.

The *immane opus* announced here is the singular product of a *non feminea uirtus*: a phrase that evokes the etymology of *uirtus* from *uir* and stresses that *femina* is alien to the genre of *arma uirumque* ("arms and the hero"). The locution *uirtutis amor* ("love of virtue") is used elsewhere by Statius in contexts inculcating traditional male values, especially military valor (*Silu*. 5.2.51–4; *Theb*. 4.128). These are passages that bring to mind a strong model of epic ideology and Roman education, such as Aeneas's farewell to his son in the final book of the *Aeneid* (12.435–6). If a Roman male learns, through *exempla*, the virtue that is being taught to him through his paternal line, then a woman like Argia has to either be self-taught or improvise. Statius stresses that Argia's love for virtue occurs suddenly: *non femineae subitum uirtutis amorem / colligit Argia* ("Argia conceives a sudden passion for unwomanly courage," 12.177–8).

Argia's ἀριστεῖα ("prowess") without the use of weapons, and stamped by a *uirtus* with Stoicizing features, is constructed as a deed of war, through military

language: a process that exploits the military stylization imprinted by Seneca on the sage's fight against Fortune. But Argia's challenge to the tyrant Creon is presented as being *superior* even to a war exploit: her unarmed solo expedition is extolled by Statius through comparison with the paradigm of female military heroism, the warrior Amazons.[30] A lonely wife, faithful to her husband beyond death, is proclaimed victorious over an army of women who refuse marriage: *quo Rhodopes non ulla nurus nec alumna niuosi / Phasidis innuptis uallata cohortibus iret* ("to go where no bride from Rhodope nor child of snowy Phasis ringed round by virgin cohorts would," 12.181–2).[31] The paradox of a virile matron who surpasses the Amazons is correlated, in this same book of the *Thebaid*, with the mirror-image paradox of the true Amazons, brought to Athens and domesticated by the victor Theseus, and of Hippolyte, their queen, willingly reduced to the role of wife, *procreatrix* ("female begetter"), and *domiseda* ("woman who stays at home"): an expectant mother, whose solicitous husband prevents her from taking part in his next military exploit (12.519–39, 635–8).

The poet of the *Thebaid* thus creates a new model of female heroism, one that most closely approximates martial heroism, but without the renunciation of a woman's traditional role: a maximum of transgression, contained in a maximum of tradition. The oxymoron will appear later in the poem in an emblematic image of Argia, who, having come on a heroic march to search for her husband on the battlefield, recognizes him by the garments she herself wove, a symbol of her matronal virtues (12.312–3). Virile virtue thus goes hand in hand with traditional female activities, those statutorily rejected by the true Amazons and by an "Amazon" such as Camilla, the warrior virgin (Verg. *Aen*. 7.805–7).

The singular and unarmed ἀριστεῖα ("prowess") of Polynices's wife evokes the model of Antigone. Argia announces herself as a new Antigone, a woman who acts in the name of conjugal love: *hortantur pietas ignesque pudici* ("piety and chaste love urge her on," 12.186). Statius accepts a challenge issued by Sophocles, whose Antigone declares that she would not have dared to perform her deed for any sons or for a husband who, unlike her brother, could be replaced (Soph. *Ant*. 905–12). Argia acts in the name of the opposite principle: not a blood tie, but a nuptial tie—which literary and cultural traditions, and the exemplary models of Roman history, presented as unique, irreplaceable, and in force beyond death.

Later on in the text, Argia and Antigone meet—or, rather, they confront each other on the battlefield, before becoming allies. Self-reflexive markers underscore Statius's literary devices here: he substitutes a newly conceived character for a recognized heroine like Antigone and then places them side by side. In a

duet of heroic and literary rivalry in front of Creon, the two women will claim to have acted out of fraternal *pietas* ("devotion") and conjugal *amor* ("love"), respectively (12.457–9). When their competition then turns to solidarity, Argia and Antigone join forces in a common exploit, literally imitating the heroic couple Euryalus and Nisus (12.382–3; Verg. *Aen*. 9.199–200).

Argia and Antigone reach their meeting within the poem by different literary paths. The narrator brings Argia to Thebes via a long, heroic march: through perils and labors, at night, in an unknown and hostile territory, with no retinue but a weak male figure (12.219–69). Her reunion with Polynices is a dramatic recognition of her husband's body, after a search in the midst of corpses and weapons on the battlefield (12.270–348). What Statius has created for Polynices's wife is a true epic ἀριστεῖα ("prowess") that adds a new dimension to Antigone's model. The choice of death and the language in which it is expressed bring Argia close to Vergilian heroes (Euryalus, Turnus), while the challenge to the tyrant situates both Argia and Antigone as Senecan martyr-heroines, "enthusiasts of self-destruction": women in search of an *ambitiosa mors* ("ostentatious death") who are struggling for primacy by offering themselves up for execution.

The final book of the *Thebaid* raises the problem of burial: Argia and Theseus confront it with two complementary exploits. A female initiative starts the action, and a male one concludes it. While Argia and Antigone bury Polynices, the king of Athens, having accepted the Argive women's entreaty, leads a decisive expedition against Thebes. The two heroines' condemnation to death is thwarted, and victory in war is followed by the funeral honors rendered to the whole Argive army. Rethinking the two tragedies that stage a challenge to Creon—Euripides's *Supplices* and Sophocles's *Antigone*—Statius portrays Argia and Theseus as two different models of opposition to a tyrannical regime: individual and collective, private and public, unarmed and under arms.

What induces Argia to face the *fulmina regni* ("thunderbolts of the reign," 12.199), and death, is her chaste and sublime love for her husband's *funus* ("corpse"), his lifeless body: *qui castissimus ardor, / funus amat* ("she loves the dead, the most chaste of passions," 12.194–5). Detaching herself from elegiac models, Statius's heroine approaches not only the *ueteres heroides*, but also heroic figures in Roman history. These are the wives of "martyrs of freedom," themselves turned into paradigms, to whom the literature of *exitus illustrium uirorum* ("end of the illustrious men") devotes a special section: virile women like Fannia, who follows her husband into exile, or Arria the Elder, who bravely precedes her spouse in death.[32] This is a heroization of woman that hints at current traits. From Seneca on, matrimonial ethics show "a modern, innovative

trend," inspired by Stoic philosophy and confirmed by the teaching of Musonius Rufus: "the wife, for her virtues, can be equal or superior to her husband."[33]

The challenge to Creon staged in the final section of the *Thebaid*, in both a feminine and a masculine version, is a rethinking of the tragic myth in terms of a contemporary discourse. Theseus's victory is the punishment of a tyrant by an ideal ruler, inspired by Seneca's *De clementia*, while Argia's rebellion, together with Antigone's, is the gesture of a martyr in opposing a tyrant, enacted in a Stoic and Senecan attitude. Theseus affirms imperial *clementia* ("clemency"), and Argia, conjugal *fides* ("fidelity"): both are values propagandized by Flavian culture. The clemency of Theseus has an equivalent, that of Domitian in the *Siluae*, so there are points of contact between the heroine of the *Thebaid* and the figures in the latter, an idealized world proposed to patrons and to the emperor. The union between Priscilla and the imperial freedman Abascantus in *Siluae* 5.1 offers more than one parallel to Argia's conjugal virtues: Priscilla would have been ready to follow her husband into war, and Abascantus shows an exemplary *pietas* ("devotion") toward his dead wife.[34] This is an "official" ethical model, sanctioned by power and marked as an *exemplum* (*Silu*. 5 *Praef*., 5.1.37–42).

It finally falls to Statius, poet of paradox, to celebrate in an epic the glory of a woman "at war"—without weapons—for love. On the *Thebaid*'s stage, Argia plays the "heroic wife of an unfortunate hero" in a sublime interpretation, exceptional in the poetic genre and exemplary for the feminine gender. She thus gains what was the highest distinction for a woman, on a social and literary level, in Roman culture: to equal the heroic qualities of the *uir* ("man") by showing, in misfortune, a heroic fidelity to him.[35]

Love, War, and Woman: Transgressions of Genre and Gender

The *Thebaid*, epic of paradox and perversion, explores the connection of love and war in reference to women by means of two reverse-image gender transgressions: by the Lemniads and by Argia. In Book 5, the women of Lemnos, after having denied their femaleness by taking up weapons (as Amazons, 5.144–6), kill their husbands (as well as all the males on the island) out of jealous *furor* ("fury"), thus establishing an upside-down world and a feminine version of Thebes's familial conflict. In the concluding book, Polynices's wife rejects her gender by realizing a glorious—and heretofore masculine—epic-heroic ἀριστεῖα ("prowess"): a feminine endeavor on the battlefield, without weapons, in the name of love.

These two paradoxes are mirror images, with a common source. Love—specifically, conjugal love—changes a woman into a virile being and casts her

into the sphere of arms and war, whether it is because this love is betrayed by the husband or put to the test by his misfortune. Love and war: the same passion can change a man from a brave being to a cowardly one and can transform a woman into a warrior or a hero. Eros is the most powerful agent in an exchange of gender roles—and, at least in the *Thebaid*, it can be the creator of a true epic role for a woman, a heroic feminine role in the genre of *arma* ("arms").

Both of these transgressions have *auctores* ("authorities"). The Lemniads' crime finds its source in the theorization of Euripides's *Medea* (263–6): "in all other matters a woman is full of fear, cowardly in regard to battle and unable to look upon weaponry of iron; but when she finds herself to have been wronged in her marriage bed, no mind is more murderous than hers."[36] This is a theme that frequently recurs in Greek and Latin literature from Aeschylus to Juvenal, often with a misogynistic bent.

But even Argia's undertaking has a theoretical antecedent: the eulogy of Eros in Plato's *Symposium*. In Phaedrus's speech, Eros is praised as the origin of ἀρετή ("virtue"), the source of "honorable ambition in the face of beautiful things; for without them neither city nor private person can accomplish great and beautiful deeds" (ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς καλοῖς φιλοτιμίαν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄνευ τούτων οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε ἰδιώτην μεγάλα καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἐξεργάζεσθαι, Plat. *Symp.* 178d).[37] If one were to assemble an army composed only of lovers and beloveds, it would be invincible. No lover would dare abandon his beloved or refuse help if danger threatened that person: "there is no one so bad that, once the god Eros has entered him, he would not be directed toward virtue—to the point where he is like one who is best by nature: and simply, as Homer said, 'the strength that the god breathed' into some of the heroes, Eros supplies from himself to lovers" (οὐδεὶς οὕτω κακὸς ὄντινα οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἔρως ἔνθεον ποιήσειε πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὥστε ὅμοιον εἶναι τῷ ἀρίστῳ φύσει· καὶ ἀτεχνῶς, ὃ ἔφη Ὅμηρος, μένος ἐμπνεῦσαι ἐνίοις τῶν ἡρώων τὸν θεόν, τοῦτο ὁ Ἔρως τοῖς ἐρῶσι παρέχει γιγνόμενον παρ' αὑτοῦ, Plat. *Symp.* 179a–b). This theory is illustrated in Latin epic by Nisus and Euryalus, who are united in a transport that is at once erotic and heroic.[38]

Moreover, Phaedrus continues, if Love makes even the weakest hearts courageous, women also have access to ἀρετή ("virtue"), though without weapons. This is the case for Alcestis, who faced death in her husband's stead and deserves to be celebrated *alongside Achilles*, who died fighting for Patroclus and, moreover, after him: "And what is more, lovers are the only ones who are willing to die for the sake of another; and that is not only true of real men but of women as well. Alcestis . . . offers a sufficient testimony . . . She alone was willing to die on behalf of her husband . . . through her love" (Καὶ μὴν ὑπεραποθνῄσκειν γε

μόνοι ἐθέλουσιν οἱ ἐρῶντες, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. Τούτου δὲ καὶ ἡ Πελίου θυγάτηρ Ἄλκηστις ἱκανὴν μαρτυρίαν παρέχεται ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐθελήσασα μόνη ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὑτῆς ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανεῖν . . . τῇ φιλίᾳ, διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, Plat. *Symp*. 179b–c). From Alcestis to Argia, from Plato to Statius, the theme also leads to Leopardi, who, in *Amore e morte*, sings the praises of the heroic school of Love, which can teach disregard for life not only to plebs, to the uncultured (63–4), *but even to women* (Leopardi, *Amore e M*. 62–87):

> Fin la negletta plebe, / L'uom della villa, ignaro / D'ogni virtù che da saper deriva, / **Fin la donzella timidetta e schiva**, / **Che già di morte al nome / Sentì rizzar le chiome**, / **Osa alla tomba, alle funeree bende / Fermar lo sguardo di costanza pieno**, / **Osa ferro e veleno / Meditar lungamente**, / **E nell'indotta mente / La gentilezza del morir comprende**. / **Tanto alla morte inclina / D'amor la disciplina**. Anco sovente, / A tal venuto il gran travaglio interno / Che sostener nol può forza mortale, / O cede il corpo frale / Ai terribili moti, e in questa forma / Pel fraterno poter Morte prevale; / **O così sprona Amor là nel profondo**, / **Che da se stessi il villanello ignaro**, / **La tenera donzella / Con la man violenta / Pongon le membra giovanili in terra**. / Ride ai lor casi il mondo, / A cui pace e vecchiezza il ciel consenta.[39]

> The very humblest of his kind, / The simple, rustic hind, who knows / No charm that knowledge gives; / The lowliest country lass that lives, / Who, at the very thought of death, / Doth feel her hair in horror rise, / Will calmly face its agonies, / Upon the terrors of the tomb will gaze / With fixed, undaunted look, / Will o'er the steel and poison brood, / In meditative mood, / And in her narrow mind, / The kindly charm of dying comprehend: / So much the discipline of Love / Hath unto Death all hearts inclined! / Full often when this inward woe / Such pass has reached as mortal strength / No longer can endure, / The feeble body yields at length, / To its fierce blows, and timely, then, / Benignant Death her friendly power doth show: / Or else Love drives her hapless victims so, / Alike the simple clown, / And tender country lass, / That on themselves their desperate hands they lay, / And so are borne unto the shades below. / The world but laughs at their distress, / Whom heaven with peace and length of days doth bless (trans. Townsend 1887).

We have thus returned to our point of departure. Love and war, and love and death: they are an antagonistic couple that, united by heroic virtue, can conquer gender differences.

NOTES

1. Here I develop aspects touched on in a study of Argia's character (Bessone 2011: ch. 5); some sections in this chapter (particularly "An Epic in the Feminine") overlap with Bessone 2010. I thank the Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier and Georg Wöhrle for permission to reproduce part of that essay.

2. Ovid *Am*. 1.9.39–40; *Ars* 2.561–2; *Met*. 4.188–9.

3. W. Allen 1975, translated into Italian as *Amore e guerra*; Freud 1921; Hillman 2004.

4. For the debate on the philosophical meaning of Lucretius's picture of Venus and Mars, see Giancotti 1978: 157–75. On the Aristotelian tradition of the choice between different βίοι, among which are the φιλήδονος and the φιλότιμος βίος, see La Penna 1963: 203–24.

5. On *teichoskopia*, see Fuhrer (chapter 3).

6. Labate 1984: 92. See also Rissmann 1983.

7. Pironti 2007. See also the chapters by Budin, Kousser, Pirenne-Delforge, and Pironti in Smith and Pickup 2010.

8. See Vernant 1989: 138–9.

9. Brown 1987: 91–7.

10. Rosati 2005.

11. Hinds 2000. For a complementary view of the mutual implications of love and war in Latin elegy, see Keith (chapter 8).

12. Keith 2000. See also Foley 2005.

13. Goold 1999.

14. See Bessone 2011.

15. See Bessone 2002, 2010 (with bibliography).

16. Rosati 1992, 1996. See also Merklin 1968.

17. Bourdieu 2001: 79.

18. Bessone 2002. See also Micozzi 2007, ad loc.

19. Translations of the *Thebaid* are by Shackleton Bailey 2003.

20. Showerman 1986 (revised by Goold), lightly adapted.

21. See Lissarrague (chapter 4).

22. Rosati 1996: 150, 153–5 (on the historical background).

23. See Keith (chapter 8).

24. On Argia's challenge to gendered expectations, see Bernstein 2008: 85–8, 94–101.

25. I accept as genuine the transmitted *aperto* (contra Heyworth 2007) and the distich (contra Hutchinson 2006). See Maltby 1981; Rosati 1996.

26. See Bessone 2010, which I summarize here.

27. See Vergil *Aen*. 9.296, 10.461.

28. On the *Thebaid* and Callimachus, see McNelis 2007.

29. On virile women in the Greek philosophical debate up to Musonius Rufus, see McInerney 2003: 323–7.

30. See Sharrock (chapter 9).

31. See Fucecchi 2007: 11n20.

32. See Carlon 2009: 175–82, esp. 179 ff.

33. La Penna 2000: 28–30. See also Franchet d'Espèrey 2008. On the praise of qualities common to a man that can sometimes be found in a woman, which (in Quintilian, Statius's *Siluae*, and Pliny) partly denies the ideological polarization of genres, see Centlivres Challet 2008; Langlands 2014.

34. Bernstein 2008: 100–01; Gibson 2006 on *Silu*. 5.1.67–9, 127–34 passim; La Penna 1981: 234 (=2000: 48).

35. See H. Parker 1998: 163–70. For points of contact with the *Laudatio Turiae*, see Rühl 2010.

36. Translation following Mastronarde 2002: 217.

37. Benardete 1986.

38. See Hardie 1994; Makowski 1989.

39. On Leopardi's philological and critical engagement with Plato's texts, philosophy, and theory of love, and on traces of his reading of the *Symposion* in his works, see Di Benedetto 1967: esp. 296–302; Pacella and Timpanaro 1969: 471–542 passim; Timpanaro 1969: 208–17, 1997: 101–6.

Elegiac Women and Roman Warfare

ALISON KEITH

Scholarly consensus identifies elegiac opposition to imperial conquest in the Roman elegists' professed preference for love over war (e.g., Prop. 1.6, Tib. 1.3, Ov. 1.9), a stance that has been interpreted as emblematic of the politics of the genre.[1] This love-war contrast has been extended along the axis of genre and interpreted as articulating an opposition between elegy and epic, as well as along the axis of gender, as a dichotomy between the elegiac woman (the *puella*/*domina* with her Greek name and apparently courtesan status), in association with her implicitly feminized lover-poet, and epic warriors (epitomized by Roman soldiers and statesmen) and warfare.[2]

This is the double contrast on display in Propertius's elegy 3.12, in which the elegiac speaker deprecates Postumus's impending departure on Augustus's Parthian campaign in 21 BCE to recover the Roman standards lost under Crassus at the battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE (Prop. 3.12.1–6):[3]

Postume, plorantem potuisti linquere Gallam,
    miles et Augusti fortia signa sequi?
tantine ulla fuit spoliati gloria Parthi,
    ne faceres Galla multa rogante tua?
si fas est, omnes pariter pereatis auari
    et quisquis fido praetulit arma toro!

Postumus, were you able to leave Galla weeping and follow Augustus's bold standards as a soldier? Was any renown for despoiling the Parthians worth so much, when your Galla asked you many times not to? If it's right to say so, may you greedy men all perish alike and whoever preferred weapons to his faithful marriage-bed!

In accordance with generic convention, the amatory speaker promotes the elegiac values of peace, love, and leisure, which he not only differentiates from the military ideals embraced by his addressee but also associates closely with Postumus's wife, Galla (Prop. 3.12.9–13):

illa quidem interea fama tabescet inani,
haec tua ne uirtus fiat amara tibi,
neue tua Medae laetentur caede sagittae,
ferreus aurato neu cataphractus equo,
neu aliquid de te flendum referatur in urna:

Meanwhile, indeed, she will waste away from empty rumors, fearing lest this bravery of yours prove bitter to you, or the Medes' arrows rejoice in your slaughter, or the iron-mailed warrior on his gold-caparisoned horse, or some small remains be brought back in an urn for her to bewail.

Postumus's faithful wife succumbs to the debilitating effects of love during her husband's absence from Rome, wasting away at the prompting of idle rumor and indulging in lachrymose anticipation of mourning his demise. Both postures—slenderness and mourning—are conventional for elegiac lovers.[4] In this context, Postumus assumes the antielegiac profile of the epic hero Ulysses, with whom Propertius explicitly compares him: *Postumus alter erit miranda coniuge Vlixes* ("with his admirable wife, Postumus will be a second Ulysses," 3.12.23). At the end of the elegy, however, the neatly gendered distinction between the genres breaks down, with Propertius's concluding comparison of Postumus's wife Galla with Ulysses's faithful wife Penelope: *uincit Penelopes Aelia Galla fidem* ("Aelia Galla outdoes Penelope's loyalty," 3.12.38). As a Penelope *rediuiua*, Galla displays that faithfulness to her husband conventionally associated with good epic wives, rather than the fickle mistresses of elegy.

This chapter explores the elegists' depictions of their mistresses as both the products and the proponents of the Roman imperial project.[5] I suggest that Postumus's participation in Augustus's Parthian expedition would have won the support of the majority of the mistresses in Latin elegy, who may weep at the departure of their lovers but nonetheless send them off to war. The elegists thereby represent their mistresses as supporters of Rome's military adventurism in the Mediterranean. At the same time, however, their verse reveals a striking overlap in their mistresses' nomenclature with that of the slave- and freedwomen in Augustan Rome, documented from inscriptions of the late republic

and early principate. Their names are thus resonant of Roman imperial conquest and the importation of foreign female labor (whether for domestic or sexual purposes, or both) into the imperial capital. Hence the elegiac mistress illustrates the Roman elegy's intimate correlation with Roman imperialism in its celebration of the sexual spoils of military conquest.

In Tibullus's elegy 1.3, the elegiac speaker, like Postumus, is assimilated with Ulysses, and his mistress Delia, like Galla, with Penelope. The opening lines, which invoke the aesthetic realm of Homer's *Odyssey*, are a propempticon bidding farewell to the Roman general Messalla and his company on the occasion of their departure for the eastern Mediterranean on imperial service (Tib. 1.3.1–4):[6]

Ibitis Aegaeas sine me, Messalla, per undas,
o utinam memores, ipse cohorsque, mei!
me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris,
abstineas auidas Mors modo nigra manus.

Alas, Messalla, you will sail Aegean seas without me—you and the company—but not, please God, forgetting the sick man, captive in Phaeacia, land of the unknown, if only the Black Goddess withhold her grasping hand.

Tibullus evokes the wording of two slightly earlier Latin poetic propemptica, composed by his contemporaries Horace, *ibis Liburnis inter alta nauium, / amice, propugnacula* ("you will go on Liburnian crafts, my friend, among the high bulwarks of ships," Hor. *Epod*. 1.1–2) and Propertius, *ibis, et accepti pars eris imperii* ("you will go and you will be part of the reception of imperial rule," Prop. 1.6.34). Both poems were written for the departures of similarly highly placed Roman officials on imperial missions abroad: Horace's to Maecenas, who served on Octavian's staff at Actium in 31 BCE; and Propertius's to Volcacius Tullus, who joined the staff of his uncle (sent out as the governor of Asia in 29 BCE). Tibullus's reference to Aegean seas and Phaeacia locate the Roman general Messalla and his military staff in the eastern Mediterranean, carrying out specifically military and imperial business.[7] But, as Robert Maltby observes, "by using the name Phaeacia for what was known in his day as Corcyra . . . T[ibullus] transposes his experience to the world of mythology and suggests parallels between himself and the wandering Odysseus who was shipwrecked there in *Od*. 6 and 7."[8]

The heroic Homeric setting contrasts with the elegist's self-portrait and thereby opens a wide gulf between the resourceful hero of Homer's epic and the morbidly malingering elegist. Yet the denunciation of war and commerce that

follows (1.3.35–54) cannot obscure the poet's participation in the imperial project of securing Roman hegemony in the Mediterranean, commemorated in an epitaph: *HIC IACET IMMITI CONSVMPTVS MORTE TIBVLLVS / MESSALLAM TERRA DVM SEQVITVRQVE MARI* ("Here lies Tibullus, wasted by inexorable death / while serving with Messalla on land and sea," 1.3.55–56). This lachrymose epitaph is in sharp counterpoint to the program of the opening elegy of Tibullus's first collection, where the elegist bids Messalla to engage in war but renounces military ventures for himself (Tib. 1.1.53–6):

> te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique,
> ut domus hostiles praeferat exuuias:
> me retinent uinctum formosae uincla puellae,
> et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.

> It is fitting that you, Messalla, make war by land and sea, so that your house may display enemy spoils: the chains of a beautiful mistress keep me bound as, her doorkeeper, I sit before the harsh doors.

In elegy 1.3 it is clear that the poet-lover is, in fact, performing the very military service he pointedly rejects in elegy 1.1.

Delia's attitude toward the military realm is not canvassed in elegy 1.1, though it is surely hinted at that she belongs to the class of *puellae* who would oppose their lovers' departure on imperial service: *o quantum est auri pereat potiusque smaragdi, / quam* ***fleat*** *ob nostras ulla puella* ***uias*** ("o however much gold and emeralds there are, may they perish rather than any girl weep over our travels," 1.1.51–2). She is thus aligned with the pursuit of erotic pleasure in the capital (1.1.45–52, 69–74) and opposed to imperial service abroad. Yet the couplet also implies that it is precisely because elegiac mistresses take an interest in gold and emeralds that their Roman lovers go off to serve in the provinces, and Delia thus sends her poet-lover off with Messalla (Tib. 1.3.9–14):

> Delia non usquam quae, me cum mitteret urbe,
> dicitur ante omnes consuluisse deos.
> illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit: illi
> rettulit e trinis omnia certa puer.
> cuncta dabant reditus: tamen est deterrita numquam
> quin **fleret** nostras respiceretque **uias**.

> Delia is nowhere, who—when she sent me from the City—is said to have consulted all the gods beforehand. Three times she lifted the boy's sacred

lots: from all three, the boy replied to her that all was sure. All granted my return: nonetheless, she was in no wit deterred from weeping and being solicitous about my travels.

The echo of 1.1.52 in 1.3.14 forges a connection between the two poems and links Tibullus's departure on imperial service to his mistress's implied, if unexpressed, interest in the fabled wealth of the East. Her self-interest is seemingly confirmed in Tibullus's reverie of a pastoral Delia in elegy 1.5, where patron and *puella* meet in harmony at the poet-lover's rustic villa (Tib. 1.5.31–6):

huc ueniet Messalla meus, cui dulcia poma
Delia selectis detrahat arboribus:
et, tantum uenerata uirum, hunc sedula curet,
huic paret atque epulas ipsa ministra gerat.
haec mihi fingebam, quae nunc Eurusque Notusque
iactat odoratos uota per Armenios.

Here my Messalla will come, for whom Delia may pluck sweet fruits from chosen trees: and, holding so great a man in awe, let her busily take care of him, for him prepare and bear him banquets, herself his serving attendant. This I dreamt and prayed for, which now East Wind and South toss over all Armenia's scented land.

The appeal of Armenia's perfumes to the wealthy upper classes provides a specific geographical context for Tibullus's bitter reflection that his prayers for Delia's love are dissipated over this exotic foreign land. Moreover, the luxury products that Armenia sent to Rome complement Tibullus's fantasy of Delia's obsequious service to his grand friend, Messalla, in the larger context of the elegy, in which he denounces a wealthy rival's enjoyment of her favors: *quod adest huic dies amator, / uenit in exitium callida lena meum* ("The fact that a rich lover has now appeared, the crafty bawd has brought about for my destruction," 1.5.47–8). For, as the poet-lover himself admits, to gain entrance her suitor must enjoy vast wealth (Tib. 1.5.59–68):

at tu quam primum sagae praecepta rapacis
desere: **nam donis uincitur omnis amor**.
pauper erit praesto tibi semper: pauper adibit
primus et in tenero fixus erit latere:
pauper in angusto fidus comes agmine turbae
subicietque manus efficietque uiam:

pauper ad occultos furtim deducet amicos
    uinclaque de niueo detrahet ipse pede.
heu canimus frustra nec uerbis uicta patescit
    ianua sed plena est percutienda manu.

But abandon the precepts of the greedy witch as soon as possible, Delia: for every love is conquered by gifts. The poor man will always be at your service: he will come to you first and stay close to your tender side; the poor man, a faithful companion in the narrow rank of the crowd, will throw his hands down to make a way for you; the poor man will take you stealthily to secret friends and himself unlace the sandals from your snowy feet. Alas! I sing in vain nor is the door conquered by my words to stand open; but must be struck by a full hand.

Delia's interest in wealthy lovers anticipates the more obviously avaricious Nemesis of Tibullus's elegy 2.3, where the poet-lover ruefully acknowledges the appeal of exotic luxury goods to the elegiac *puella* (Tib. 2.3.47–58):

At tibi laeta trahant Samiae conuiuia testae
    fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota.
eheu diuitibus uideo gaudere puellas:
    iam ueniant praedae si Venus optat opes,
ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat utque per urbem
    incedat donis conspicienda meis.
illa gerat uestes tenues quas femina Coa
    texuit, auratas disposuitque uias.
illi sint comites fusci quos India torret,
    Solis et admotis inficit ignis equis.
illi selectos certent praebere colores
    Africa puniceum purpureumque Tyros.

But let Samian ware extend a merry party for you and cups of clay turned on the wheels of Cumae. Alas, there's no denying that girlfriends adore the rich. Then welcome Loot if Love loves affluence. My Nemesis shall float in luxury and strut the Roman streets parading gifts of mine. She shall wear fine silks woven by women of Cos and patterned with paths of gold. She shall have swarthy attendants, scorched in India, stained by the Sun-God steering near. Let Africa with scarlet and Tyre with purple compete to offer her their choicest dyes.

The vignette of Nemesis, parading like the strumpet that she is through the great city, evokes the rich spoils of empire but frames Roman wealth and luxury as a reproach to the foreign mistress, whose diaphanous dress of "Coan" silk, rich dyes of scarlet and purple, and exotic Indian attendants—all expensive Eastern luxury imports in Rome—advertise their wearer's sexual availability and thereby leave her open to the familiar denunciations of the Roman moralizing tradition.[9] In the contrast between the Italian simplicity of the speaker's tastes (2.3.47–8) and the exotic dress of his mistress (2.3.51–4), Tibullus projects the Roman rapacity for exotic luxury items, introduced into Italy as the result of foreign conquest, onto the elegiac *puella*, herself quite probably a foreign luxury import to Rome, and he implicitly represents it as characteristic of her gender and ethnos, denouncing her on both counts. Nemesis's greed for the spoils of conquest is represented as underpinning a self-interested commitment to Roman militarism on the part of the elegiac mistress.

A similar dynamic animates the Propertian Cynthia. In elegy 1.8, Propertius questions his mistress's decision to follow a rival of his to Illyria (Prop. 1.8.1–8):

> Tune igitur demens, nec te mea cura moratur?
> an tibi sum gelida uilior Illyria?
> et tibi iam tanti, quicumque est, iste uidetur,
> ut sine me uento quolibet ire uelis?
> tune audire potes uesani murmura ponti
> fortis, et in dura naue iacere potes?
> tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas,
> tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre niues?
>
> Are you mad, then, and does no concern for me delay you? Or am I worth less to you than icy Illyria? And does that fellow of yours, whoever he is, seem worth so much to you, that you would willingly go wherever the wind blows, without me? Will you be able to listen to the swell of the raging sea with courage, and lie in the hard berth of a ship? Will you be able to support settled hoarfrost with your tender feet, Cynthia, and endure the unaccustomed snow?

The elegy opens with a strongly drawn contrast between the "epic" landscape of frigid Illyria, to which the elegist's rival (apparently a military man and therefore an epic kind of character) is going by "harsh" ship over the "raging" sea (more epic metaphors), and the elegiac mistress's dainty, not to say elegiac, figure in the form of her "tender" feet.

Later in the poem, the elegist, in equally programmatically charged language, celebrates her decision to remain instead with him in Rome (Prop. 1.8.29–46):

falsa licet **cupidus** deponat gaudia Liuor:
destitit ire **nouas Cynthia nostra uias**.
illi **carus** ego et per me **carissima** Roma
dicitur, et sine me **dulcia** *regna* negat.
illa uel **angusto mecum requiescere lecto**
et quocumque modo maluit esse mea,
quam sibi *dotatae regnum uetus Hippodamiae*
et *quas* Elis *opes* ante pararat equis.
quamuis *magna daret*, quamuis *maiora daturus*,
non tamen illa **meos** fugit **auara sinus**.
hanc ego non *auro*, non *Indis* flectere *conchis*,
sed potui **blandi carminis obsequio**.
sunt igitur Musae, neque amanti tardus Apollo,
quis ego fretus **amo**: **Cynthia rara** mea est!
nunc mihi *summa licet contingere sidera plantis*:
siue dies seu nox uenerit, illa mea est!
nec mihi riualis certos subducit amores:
ista meam norit *gloria* canitiem.

Let greedy Envy lay aside false joys: our Cynthia has ceased to embark on new paths. She says I'm dear and because of me Rome is dearest and she denies that kingdoms are sweet without me. She preferred to rest with me in a narrow bed or to be mine in whatever manner of life, than to possess the old kingdom of dowered Hippodamia and the wealth which Elis once acquired from horses. Although he offered great gifts, though he promised greater, still she has not fled my embraces out of greed. I was able to move her not with gold or Indian shells, but with the service of seductive verse. So there are Muses, nor is Apollo slow to help the lover; on them I rely as a lover: exquisite Cynthia is mine! Now may I reach the highest stars with my feet: whether day or night comes, she is mine! Nor does my rival steal my true love from me: this vaunt will know my white hair.

Here the "elegiac" language of love and poverty (in boldface in the Latin) seems to trump the "epic" language of grandeur and wealth (in italics in the Latin). Yet there are some unsettling conjunctions of the two generic lexica. Cynthia, for example, refuses to set out on the "new paths" (1.8.30) that Callimachus associated

with elegy in the *Aetia* prologue (*Aet*. fr. 1.27–8 M), and the epic word *regna* receives the elegiac epithet *dulcia* (1.8.32).[10] In the final couplets, the vocabulary of elegy and epic mingle still more boldly in the elegist's desire to scale the heights of heaven (*summa . . . contingere sidera*, 43) and win *gloria* (46) as a result of his amatory success.

There is, moreover, good reason to doubt Cynthia's commitment to elegiac principle here. For her original plan—to follow the elegist's rival to frozen Illyria—recalls a passage in which Vergil depicts the elegist Gallus's faithless mistress Lycoris crossing the Alps, apparently in the company of a rival lover-soldier on campaign (Verg. *Ecl*. 10.46–9):

> tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
> Alpinas, a! dura niues et frigora Rheni
> me sine sola uides. a, te ne frigora laedant!
> a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!
>
> You, far away from the fatherland (nor let me credit such a thing) see Alpine snow—alas!—and the harsh cold of the Rhine alone without me. Alas, may the cold not harm you! Alas, may the rough ice not cut your tender feet!

Servius attributes these lines to Gallus and, as they are full of the same programmatic elegiac language seen in Propertius's elegy 1.8, scholars have generally accepted this testimony.[11] Vergil thus apparently quotes Gallus in his description of an elegiac *puella* who has abandoned elegy and crossed into the territory of hexameter epic. Far from Rome, she scales the snowy Alps to witness the frigid Rhine, braving cold and ice to do so. Moreover, as Cynthia proposes to do in Propertius's elegy 1.8, Lycoris follows a new lover who is clearly a military man: *uenit Apollo: / "Galle, quid insanis?" inquit. "tua cura Lycoris / perque niues alium perque horrida castra secuta est"* ("Apollo came: 'Gallus, why are you mad?' he asked. 'Your girlfriend Lycoris has followed another through snow and camps of shuddering cold,' " Verg. *Ecl*. 10.21–3). The faithless Lycoris thereby enters the epic world of rough soldiers and frigid landscapes, and she blazes the trail for her sisters in later Latin elegy.[12]

Although Cynthia does not go to Illyria in 1.8, she is represented as remaining interested in the spoils it has to offer in Book 2, where Propertius reproaches her for bestowing her favors on his rival, a wealthy *praetor*, who has returned from imperial service in Illyria (Prop. 2.16):

> Praetor ab Illyricis uenit modo, Cynthia, terris,
> maxima praeda tibi, maxima cura mihi.

non potuit saxo uitam posuisse Cerauno?
a, Neptune, tibi qualia dona darem!
nunc sine me plena fiunt conuiuia mensa,
nunc sine me tota ianua nocte patet.
quare, si sapis, oblatas ne desere messis
et stolidum pleno uellere carpe pecus;
deinde, ubi consumpto restabit munere pauper,
dic alias iterum nauiget Illyrias!
Cynthia non sequitur fascis nec curat honores;
semper amatorum ponderat una sinus.
at tu nunc nostro, Venus, succurre dolori,
rumpat ut assiduis membra libidinibus!
ergo muneribus quiuis mercatur amorem?
Iuppiter, indigna merce puella perit.
semper in Oceanum mittit me quaerere gemmas
et iubet ex ipsa tollere dona Tyro.
atque utinam Romae nemo esset diues, et ipse
straminea posset dux habitare casa!
numquam uenales essent ad munus amicae,
atque una fieret cana puella domo;
numquam septenas noctes seiuncta cubares,
candida tam foedo bracchia fusa uiro;
non quia peccarim (testor te), sed quia uulgo
formosis leuitas semper amica fuit.
barbarus excussis agitat uestigia lumbis
et subito felix nunc mea regna tenet!
. . . . . .
sed quascumque tibi uestis, quoscumque smaragdos,
quosue dedit flauo lumine chrysolithos,
haec uideam rapidas in uanum ferre procellas:
quae tibi terra, uelim, quae tibi fiat aqua.
. . . . . .
quare ne tibi sit tanti Sidonia uestis,
ut timeas, quotiens nubilus Auster erit.

The praetor has just come back from Illyrian lands, Cynthia, your greatest prize, my greatest worry. Could he not have laid down his life at the Ceraunian rock? Ah, Neptune, what gifts I would give you! Now parties with loaded

> tables are happening without me, now the door stands open all night long without me. If you are smart, then, do not neglect the offered harvest and pluck the stolid sheep with his full fleece; then, when he'll be left a poor man with his wealth all used up tell him to sail to other Illyrias again! Cynthia doesn't follow the fasces nor does she care about offices; always she weighs her lovers' pockets, a singular woman. But you, Venus, now come to the assistance of my grief, so that he ruptures his limbs in his constant lust! Then can anyone purchase love with gifts? Jupiter, my girl perishes for an unworthy price. She always sends me to sea to seek jewels and bids me take gifts from Tyre herself. And would that no one were wealthy at Rome, and the commander-in-chief himself could dwell in a straw hut! Never would mistresses sell themselves for a gift, but a girlfriend would grow white haired in one household; never would you sleep apart for seven nights, and embrace so foul a man with your white arms; not because I have strayed (I call you to witness), but because fickleness was always dear to beauties. One moment he busies his steps, a barbarian with his loins emptied, and suddenly fortunate he now holds my territory! . . . But whatever clothes, whatever emeralds, whatever topazes he's given you with golden light, I would see the gales carry them away to no purpose: I could wish them become earth and water to you . . . So don't hold Sidonian clothing worth so much that you fear as often as the cloudy Southwind springs up.

Propertius treats the topos of the greedy mistress at some length, assuming that all women are interested in enriching themselves from the spoils of empire—expensive foreign imports such as silk clothing and gems (2.16.7–8, 12, 15–8, 43–4, 55)—and are therefore indulgent to imperial office-holders, however basely born the latter are (2.16.27–8), and however uninterested in imperial office per se the women themselves may be (2.16.11).

The spoils of empire inscribe the extent of Rome's imperial reach into the poem, as Illyria (2.16.1, 10) and Epirus (2.16.3) are conflated with the wealthy East, symbolized by Tyre (2.16.18) and Sidon (2.16.55), and the influx of wealth from the borders of the empire acts as a powerful aphrodisiac on Cynthia (2.16.11–2). The Propertian lover-poet's anguished admission of the barbarous praetor's possession of *his* kingdom (2.16.28)—presumably Cynthia's table and bed, which now lie open to the Illyrian praetor (2.16.5–6)—lays bare the imperial frame of reference that undergirds elegiac rivalry here, for it is sketched precisely in territorial terms. Moreover, by fleecing the praetor of his Illyrian wealth on his return to Rome, Cynthia can be represented as the agent who sends him back out to the

provinces for further enrichment (2.16.9–10). His mistress's rapacity (2.16.11–22) explains her support for Roman military adventurism abroad, even if she does not actually accompany her praetor back to his province or go with him on campaign, as Lycoris is represented as doing by Vergil (and, perhaps, Gallus).

Propertius singles Cynthia out for opprobrium here, but he implies that she stands shoulder to shoulder with her elegiac sisters, at least as far as their views on the amatory value of the spoils of empire are concerned (2.16.21–6). Ovid corroborates this cynical view, devoting an entire elegy to denouncing his mistress (presumably Corinna) for venality (Ov. *Am*. 1.10.13–6):[13]

cur sim mutatus quaeris? quia munera poscis.
haec te non patitur causa placere mihi.
donec eras simplex, animum cum corpore amaui;
nunc mentis uitio laesa figura tua est.

Why have I changed, do you ask? Since you demand gifts. This reason makes you unattractive to me. While you were innocent, I loved your mind along with your body; now your beauty has been harmed by your mind's fault.

Her grasping character leads the poet to compare her with a courtesan (Ov. *Am*. 1.10.21–4):

stat meretrix certo cuiuis mercablis aere
et miseras iusso corpore quaerit opes;
deuouet imperium tamen haec lenonis auari
et, quod uos facitis sponte, coacta facit.

The prostitute stands for hire by anyone for a fixed price and seeks poor profit from her body's submission to commands. Nonetheless, she curses her greedy pimp's power and does under compulsion what you do of your own accord.

These couplets imply that the elegiac *puella* is not herself a courtesan, but by emphasizing all women's venality, the poet-lover collapses every woman, including his mistress, into that category.[14] The same view underpins the poet's closing advice to his mistress: that she fleece a wealthy lover, but only charge paupers and poets in kind (Ov. *Am*. 1.10.53–6):

nec tamen indignum est a diuite praemia posci:
praemia poscenti quod dare possit, habet;
carpite de plenis pendentes uitibus uuas,
praebeat Alcinoi poma benignus ager.

> Nor, nonetheless, is it wrong to demand rewards from a wealthy lover; he has something he can give to a girl asking for rewards: seize the grapes hanging from full vines, and let Alcinous's bountiful field offer a full harvest of fruit.

Ovid's appeal to his readers' literary sophistication in the brief vignette of Alcinous's riches here aestheticizes the spoils of Roman hegemony over the Mediterranean, but the penultimate couplet enumerates the more tangible products of Roman imperial expansion that are of interest to the elegiac mistress residing in the capital, such as expensive clothing, jewelry, and gold (1.10.61). Another such tangible prize from Roman military dominion is the exotic wig of German hair, one of the spoils of the Roman conquest of the Sygambri, that Ovid imagines his mistress wearing (Ov. *Am*. 1.14.45–50):

> nunc tibi captiuos mittet Germania crines; 45
> tuta triumphatae munere gentis eris.
> o quam saepe comas aliquo mirante rubebis
> et dices "empta nunc ego merce probor;
> nescioquam pro me laudat nunc iste Sygambram;
> fama tamen memini cum fuit ista mea." 50

> Now Germany will send you captured hair; you will be saved by the gift of a nation over whom we have triumphed. How often will you blush when someone admires your hair, and you'll say "Now I am regarded with approval for bought goods; now that guy praises some Sygambrian woman instead of me; nonetheless I remember when that repute was my own."

Ovid acknowledges the elegiac mistress's profit from Roman military conquest in the juxtaposition of captive Germany with the Roman triumph that displays the spoils of war on the mistress's body.

Both Cynthia (in Propertius's elegy 2.16) and Corinna (in Ovid's *Amores* 1.10, 1.14) act in accordance with the precepts of the elegiac *lena*, who is primarily concerned with securing wealth.[15] Thus Dipsas (in Ovid's *Amores* 1.8) wishes that her charge may be as wealthy as she is beautiful (*tam felix esses quam formosissima uellem: / non ego, te facta diuite, pauper ero*, Ov. *Am*. 1.8.27–8) and counsels her to assess potential lovers by their wealth (*cum bene deiectis gremium spectabis ocellis, / quantum quisque ferat, respiciendus erit*, Ov. *Am*. 1.8.37–8),[16] however lowly their background (Ov. *Am*. 1.8.61–2). Indeed, Dipsas argues that their wealth makes rich lovers far preferable to poets, or even to impoverished aristocrats (Ov. *Am*. 1.8.59–64):

qui dabit, ille tibi magno sit maior Homero;
crede mihi, res est ingeniosa dare.
nec tu, si quis erit capitis mercede redemptus,
despice; gypsati crimen inane pedis.
nec te decipiant ueteres circum atria cerae:
tolle tuos tecum, pauper amator, auos.

Whoever will give you a gift, let him be greater than great Homer to you; believe me, it is mark of talent to give. Nor look down on one who has been redeemed with the price of freedom; a chalk-marked foot is an empty reproach. Nor let old wax masks on display in entrance halls deceive you: take your ancestors off, along with yourself, poor lover.

The Ovidian Dipsas contrasts love and war, Venus and Mars, in her precepts (Ov. *Am*. 1.8.29–32), but this comparison occludes the support Mars offers to Venus, and war to Rome: *nunc Mars externis animos exercet in armis, / at Venus Aeneae regnat in urbe sui* ("Now Mars trains men's courage in foreign wars, and Venus rules in the city of her son Aeneas," Ov. *Am*. 1.8.41–2).

The close relationship between Venus, or urban elegiac love, and Mars, or imperial Roman warfare, emerges still more clearly in the precepts of Propertius's bawd, Acanthis (Prop. 4.5.21–8):

"Si te Eoa †dorozantum† iuuat aurea ripa
et quae sub Tyria concha superbit aqua,
Eurypylique placet Coae textura Mineruae,
sectaque ab Attalicis putria signa toris,
seu quae palmiferae mittunt uenalia Thebae
murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis;
sperne fidem, prouolue deos, mendacia uincant,
frange et damnosae iura pudicitiae!"

"If golden jewels from Eastern shores delight you and the shell that vaunts purple beneath the Tyrian waves; or if Eurypylus's tissue of Coan cloth pleases you, and the crumbling figures cut from Attalid couches; or if the wares palm-bearing Thebes sends for sale and the vessels of costly stone baked in Parthian kilns; scorn loyalty, roll down the gods, let lies prevail, and break the oaths of financially ruinous chastity!"

Acanthis's opening words place her in a long literary tradition that characterizes the bawd as a venal old woman, and they set her in a didactic relationship with

the beautiful young courtesan who is so desirable to the elite Greco-Roman citizen (and hence so dangerous to his purse). Like Dipsas, she encourages her charge to take lovers according to the gifts they offer (Prop. 4.5.49–58):

nec tibi displiceat miles non factus amori,
    nauta nec attrita si ferat aera manu,
aut quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit,
    cretati medio cum saluere foro.
aurum spectato, non quae manus afferat aurum!
    uersibus auditis quid nisi uerba feres?
"Quid iuuat ornato procedere, uita, capillo
    et tenuis Coa ueste mouere sinus?"
qui uersus, Coae dederit nec munera uestis,
    istius tibi sit surda sine aera lyra.

Nor let the soldier displease you, though he was not made for love, nor the sailor, if he brings bronze in his calloused hand, nor those from whose foreign necks the salesman's bill hung when they danced with chalked feet in the middle of the marketplace. Keep your eye on the gold, not the hand that bears the gold! What will you take from listening to verses except words? "Why does it please you, darling, to walk out with glamorous hair-do and flutter slender folds of Coan cloth?" The man who gives poetry rather than the gift of Coan cloth—let his lyre fall on deaf ears, for it lacks bronze.

The gifts Acanthis enumerates document the material rewards of imperial conquest available to the elegiac mistress. The precious gemstones and other luxury products, such as gold and silk, absorbed into the metropolis from the exotic outposts of empire proclaim the extent of Roman military conquest and emblematize the mistress's greed as (one of) its motivating factor(s). Propertius thereby places the greed that subtended Roman imperial expansion onto the foreign courtesan and her abjected alter ego, the venal *lena*, who openly announces the close connection between Roman militarism and elegiac love. In this way, the elegist implicitly projects responsibility for Roman militarism and the material rewards that flow into the imperial capital onto the elegiac woman, whether young (the mistress) or old (the bawd).

Yet if the elegiac *puella* thus invites interpretation as a proponent of Roman militarism, she can also be viewed as a product of Roman imperialism. As Sharon James has demonstrated, Cynthia, like her elegiac sisters, is an avatar of the high-priced Greek courtesan familiar from the genres of New Comedy and epi-

gram, both of which were literally and literarily available to Roman elites as a result of the expansion of their military empire into Greece.[17] When, for example, Propertius compares Cynthia with the most celebrated Greek courtesans—Lais, Thais, and Phryne (Prop. 2.6.1–6)—he explicitly acknowledges Thais's literary provenance in Menander's eponymous play and implicitly attests to his own mistress's sexual circulation among her lovers in Rome.[18] In dress and comportment, moreover, Cynthia closely anticipates Ovid's Corinna, who is introduced in the *Amores* by her comparison with the Greek courtesan Lais (Ov. *Am*. 1.5.9–12):

ecce, Corinna uenit tunica uelata recincta,
candida diuidua colla tegente coma,
qualiter in thalamos formosa Semiramis isse
dicitur et multis Lais amata uiris.

Look, Corinna arrives wearing an unbelted shift, her parted hair covering her shining neck, just as beautiful Semiramis is said to have entered her bedchamber or Lais, loved by many men.

Ovid's Latin gloss on Lais's Greek name (*multis . . . uiris*, Ov. *Am*. 1.5.12) emphasizes the courtesan's circulation among various men[19] at the same time that it underlines her linguistic and generic translation from Greek comedy into Latin elegy. The elegiac mistress must thus be counted as another luxury import from the eastern Mediterranean, like the silks, gems, and perfumes she conventionally wears.[20]

Ovid assures his readers that Rome provides an abundance of foreign women from whom to choose a mistress (Ov. *Ars* 1.171–6):

quid, modo cum belli naualis imagine Caesar
Persidas induxit Cecropiasque rates?
nempe ab utroque mari iuuenes, ab utroque puellae
uenere, atque ingens orbis in Vrbe fuit.
quis non inuenit turba, quod amaret, in illa?
eheu, quam multos aduena torsit amor!

Why, did Caesar not recently bring on Persian and Athenian ships in the guise of a naval engagement? Surely youths and maidens came from either sea, and the whole huge world was in the City. Who did not find something to love in that crowd? Alas, how many men did a foreign love overthrow!

His boast is borne out by inscriptional evidence indicating the widespread sexual availability of slave women and *libertae* who bore the same Greek names

ascribed by the elegists to their mistresses.[21] Nemesis is the most frequently attested name for slave- and freedwomen in Rome during all periods:[22] especially noteworthy are the dancer *Iulia Nemesis saltatrix* (*CIL* 6.10143) and the freed maidservant *Nemesis Nicenis Tauri l. ancilla* (*CIL* 6.6490), both datable to the early principate. The name of the *puella* celebrated in Ovid's *Amores*, Corinna, also occurs in the Augustan period, borne by a *libraria* ("storeroom clerk" or "female copyist," *CIL* 6.3979)[23] as well as by a freedwoman (*CIL* 6.17588). Cynthia is the name that appears least, though a fragmentary reference to *-uttidia Cynthia* (*CIL* 6.33672) suggests its contemporary currency. In the context of the inscriptional evidence, the Greek names of the elegists' *puellae* implicitly attest to Roman imperial conquest.[24]

The contrast between the native Italian names of the Roman elegists themselves and the exotic Greek names of the beloveds that are encoded in their verse documents these elegists' participation in the larger Roman imperial projects, an aspect that is otherwise occluded in an ostensibly non- or antipolitical presentation of elegiac themes. The close correlation of Latin elegy with Roman imperialism thus lies not only in the elegiac *puella*'s espousal of warfare, but also in the genre's celebration of the sexual spoils of military conquest. In addition to the inanimate spoils of war that flowed into Rome as a result of her Mediterranean hegemony, access to the mistress's bed and the enjoyment of a day spent idling in love—and the love-elegies themselves—can also be viewed as fruits of Roman imperialism. In a striking illustration of the intimate commerce of the elegiac mistress with Roman warfare, the pursuit of an elegiac love affair and the contemporary Roman importation of foreign luxury coalesce as a complex amalgam of the products and processes, both local and global, of Roman imperialism.[25]

NOTES

1. Sullivan 1972. See also Hallett 1973.
2. Wyke 2002.
3. I cite Propertius from the Latin text of Fedeli 1984, and adapt the translations of the Loeb edition by Goold 1990.
4. On the generic conventions of elegy, see Fedeli 1981; for their gendered implications, see Wyke 1987a, 1987b, 1989a, 1989b (all reprinted in Wyke 2002), 1994. On the gender conventions of epic, see Keith 2000; see also Nappi (chapter 2); Bessone (chapter 7); and Sharrock (chapter 9).
5. See Bowditch 2003, 2006; Keith 2008: 139–65. See also Buchan 1995.

6. I cite the Latin text and English translation of Tibullus from G. Lee 1990 (revised by Maltby).

7. The elder Pliny explains that "Homer called Corcyra [modern Corfu], Scheria and Phaeacia" (*Historia Naturalis* 4.4.52), and we know that in the Augustan period it was already "an important military station on the way to the East" (Maltby 2002: 185).

8. Maltby 2002: 185–6. See also Bright 1978: 17–37l; Eisenberger 1960.

9. On the Eastern provenance of the articles in Nemesis's luxurious toilette, see Dalby 2000: 168–72, 184; Maltby 2002: 408–10 (with further bibliography); J. Miller 1969: 104–5, 108. On the moralizing tradition against the luxury associated with "effeminacy" (*mollitia*), see Edwards 1993: 63–97. On luxurious dress and its association with Greek license, see Griffin 1986: 10.

10. On the elegiac *puella* as a Callimachean literary construct, see Wyke 1987a. On her as a Greek courtesan, see Davidson 1997; James 2003. On her as a foreign import in both respects, see Keith 2008: 86–114.

11. See Hollis 2007: 235–7.

12. Jacqueline Fabre-Serris reminds me (*per litteras*) that Propertius's two elegiac propemptica in Book 1 (1.6 to Volcacius and 1.8 to Cynthia) are indebted to Gallus in his *Amores*. Thus Cynthia in 1.8.1–8 is represented as following the example of Gallus's Lycoris (in Vergil *Buc.* 10.46–9; the Gallan original is no longer extant), while Gallus, in celebrating Rome's imperial conquests (fr. 145.2–5, Hollis 2007), addresses Caesar himself as the greatest part of Roman history, in a line (fr. 145.3, Hollis 2007) to which Propertius alludes when he describes Volcacius's departure on imperial service (Prop. 1.6.34). On Propertius's use of Gallus fr. 145 (Hollis 2007) in elegy 1.6, see Cairns 2006: 87. On Propertius's extensive debt to Gallus, see Cairns 2006: 70–249 (with further bibliography).

13. I cite the Latin text of Ovid's *Amores* from McKeown 1987 and that of the *Ars* from Kenney 1994; translations are lightly adapted from the Loeb editions of Showerman 1986 (revised by Goold) and Mozeley 1979 (revised by Goold), respectively.

14. See, for example, Propertius 2.16.21–6); Ovid *Am.* 1.10.29–30: *sola uiro mulier spoliis exultat ademptis, / sola locat noctes, sola licenda uenit* ("only woman delights in stripping spoils from man, and alone rents nights, alone comes for hire").

15. See James 2003.

16. See also Ovid *Am.* 1.8.29–34.

17. Bowditch 2006; James 2003. See also Griffin 1986: 14–22, 26–8.

18. On Thais in Latin elegy, see Traill 2001. On the mistress's sexual and textual circulation, see Fear 2000; Keith 2008: 105–38.

19. For the etymology, see Hinds 1988: 10.

20. See Bowditch 2006; Keith 2008: 139–65.

21. For the currency of the name Thais in ancient Rome, see Solin 2003: 272–3. For Lais, see Solin 2003: 274. For Lycoris, see Solin 2003: 275. For Phryne, see Solin 2003: 276. See also Keith 2011, 2012.

22. See Solin 2003: 469–70.

23. Treggiari 1976: 78 defines *libraria* as "a store-room clerk, perhaps working under a storekeeper, *cellarius*"; contra *OLD* s.v. *libraria*, which defines her as "(prob.) A female secretary or copyist."

24. For the evidence, see Solin 2003, s.v. Corinna, Cynthia, Delia, and Nemesis. See also Solin 2003, s.v. Acanthis, Arethusa, and Cypassis. A fuller discussion appears in Keith 2011, 2012.

25. I am grateful to Jacqueline Fabre-Serris for the invitation to participate at the inaugural EuGeStA conference in Lille in December 2009 and to all the participants for convivial discussion there. I am also grateful to Sharon James and Judy Hallett for discussions of points of detail. Needless to say, any errors that remain are my own.

Warrior Women in Roman Epic

ALISON SHARROCK

Epic is the genre of war, of "kings and battles" (Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3), and of men's wars, the "famous deeds of heroes" (Hom. *Il.* 9.189). Insofar as women and nonhuman females feature in this genre at all, they usually enter the epic as victims of war, characters for whom war means suffering and loss and for whom its political drives are relatively insignificant. From the genre's dominant perspective, some women, such as Helen (*Iliad*, and passim) and Lavinia (*Aeneid*) may have narratological and symbolic significance as *causae belli* ("causes of war"), but from their own perspective they remain victims—the active, busy Helen as much as the passive, silently blushing Lavinia. A third female option, populated mostly by nonhumans, is as drivers of war, like the goddesses and furies who perform as original and proximate motivators—or rather, perhaps, as embodiments—of fighting force. This role is so predominantly female that it encouraged a leading contemporary scholar of women in Roman epic, Alison Keith, to view it as the most substantial female contribution to epic, especially in Vergil's *Aeneid*, where all the blame for war is directed onto women and female divinities or abstractions, while men take the credit both for martial valor and for peace. But there is also a fourth category, which is the subject of the present chapter: the small number of women who want to sign up and enter the job market for martial epic heroes. Are there any such openings, or do martial women inhabit only a deviant Otherness, which must be destroyed and humiliated in order to bolster antiquity's fragile male ego? Is their representation based wholly on the gulf between female norms and the warrior woman's deviant Otherness, or do they bring some feminine contribution to the construction of the political and martial hero?

In exploring these questions, I have sought, wherever possible, positive models of women soldiers in Roman epic.[1] The outcome is that Vergil's Camilla sets the tone for a different way of being a woman warrior, which later authors both

undermine and develop. As in any piece of feminist criticism, I implicitly reflect on modern gender roles and processes of reading, as well as elucidate ancient texts. It should be stressed, therefore, that I do not hold the opinion that a prominent role for women soldiers should be a desideratum of modern feminism. My intention, rather, is to offer the ancient fighting woman as a metaphor for professional women. If that is going a stage too far for some readers, I at least hope to show an alternative perspective on Roman epic to the more predictable reading of "the female warrior [as] a contradiction in terms":[2] as an Amazon to be tamed, despised, and desired as a sex object who is fascinating in her Otherness but objectified and belittled by that desire. In the process, this reading can, I hope, expose the complexity of gender roles, even in so dominantly masculinist a genre as Roman epic.

It is a truism, which must nonetheless be restated, that "conquered Greece took her fierce conqueror captive." This chapter is primarily about Roman epic, and in particular about the relationship between Vergilian and post-Vergilian Roman epic, but such is the force, not to say the violence, of the intertextual relationship between Greece and Rome that it must begin with a brief overview of the Greek cultural captives. The storehouse of Greek mythic culture contains an abundance of fighting women, with a fairly straightforward message attached about what it is to be human, male, and Greek. Warrior women are Amazons, unnatural and threatening foreign Others who are always opposed to men, to marriage, and to (Greek) culture, and who therefore must be tamed, as was powerfully shown by Page DuBois's important book on the subject.[3] It is a story and a message that is extraordinarily well represented in Greek art, particularly in the tradition of Amazonomachy: the battle between Greeks and Amazons in which this taming of the Other is played out over and over again, and that tells Greek men much of what they want to know about themselves.[4] Amazons are inverted in a host of ways with regard both to normal Greek women[5] and normal Greek heroes. These warrior women live in a world apart, rather than as partners with male heroes. The fragmentary cyclic epic poem *Aethiopis* features the Amazon queen Penthesilea, who fights alongside the Trojans (and therefore against the Greeks), but the only aspects of the story that are reasonably clear are (1) that she is one member in a partnership of others, along with the foreigner Memnon, who come to the aid of the Trojans when all is lost, and (2) that in death she becomes an erotic object. She does nothing, therefore, to disrupt the normative message of her race. There is no doubt about the traditional relationship between the Athenian Theseus and the Amazons: he is the civilizing conqueror who fights and tames the Other.[6] So powerful is the myth of the Amazon

that representations of any female warrior in antiquity[7] will naturally tend to become an Amazon—so much so that even the most "liberated" female soldier in the ancient world, Vergil's Camilla, is inevitably drawn into an Amazonian simile. This representational move is analogous with one that makes every woman poet a Sappho and/or a Muse.[8]

Crucial to the Amazonian myth is not just their military activity, but their bizarre, single-sex society. Procreation usually happens by means of some sort of temporary interaction with men of other races. Male children are sent away to their fathers—or, in the case of promiscuous procreation, to any possible father (Strabo 11.5.1)—or even killed (Hellanicus fr. 17, trans. Jacoby 1950). Women also perform male peacetime tasks, such as plowing (Strabo 11.5.1). The Lemnian episode in Apollonius Rhodius's Hellenistic epic on the myth of Jason, *Argonautica*, offers the rare spectacle in Greek literature of fighting women who are not formally Amazons. When the Lemnian women slaughter their menfolk and create their own quasi-Amazonian society, however, their attempts to take on male roles are laughable, and their desperation to receive the Argonauts, not only as male lovers and producers of children but also as the missing men who will put society to rights, seems distinctly pathetic.[9] Such, in a nutshell, is the image of the woman at war that Roman epic inherited from Greece.

Vergil

The fragmentary state of early Roman epic does not allow a definitive examination of the intertextual background to Vergil's Camilla, but it is generally thought that the Volscian warrior maiden is the poet's own invention, based (it is assumed, not wholly wrongly) on the tradition of Amazons in Greek epic.[10] The question, as ever, is what Vergil did with that tradition. This chapter is much indebted to an article by Ruth Morello on Vergil's Camilla and the critical tradition,[11] which uses the loose structural metaphor of an industrial tribunal to examine whether the various critical dismissals of Camilla as an effective warrior are justified. Morello argues that Camilla is a remarkably competent, efficient, and successful soldier who "breaks every rule"[12] of gender politics. Camilla is an experienced soldier[13] and an effective commander, leading her own male and female troops, trusted and listened to by her commander-in-chief, who commissions her as his lieutenant. What brings about her downfall is simply a fatal moment of lost concentration, when Camilla pursues the "heroic" masculine goal of magnificent spoils (rather than a womanish love for finery). Vergil himself records some uncertainty as to the motivation for Camilla's pursuit of Chloreus, giving two possibilities (11.778–80). Although one (to dedicate

Trojan weapons in a temple) is more laudable than the other (to wear them herself), both options are within the range of heroic behavior and do *not* imply the actions of a woman going shopping.[14]

Such is Morello's argument, which, in the main, I find wholly convincing. A depressing aspect of the representation and reception of Camilla is the extent to which she is subsumed both by later poets and—crucially—critics into the Amazon tradition, which marks her as Other and denies her any real heroic role, even though Vergil himself gave her a clearly distinct and discrete personal history and geography, associating her with the Amazons only by analogy and simile. One example of this reception is the German medieval version of the *Aeneid*, in which Camilla's life story is suppressed and she appears as an Amazon queen at the head of an Amazon army.[15]

Vergil's Camilla is graced with two introductions into the poem.[16] The first, at the end of the catalog of Italian allies in Book 7, stresses her beauty and her skill; the second, told by her patron Diana in preparation for Camilla's death, gives her life history (11.535–94).[17] Both accounts undeniably present her as Other to feminine norms: the question I wish to explore is whether this is all that they do.

The catalog places Camilla (the warrior) in opposition to the wool-worker (*Aen*. 7.805–7):

> non illa colo calathisue Mineruae
> femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia uirgo
> dura pati cursuque pedum praeuertere uentos.
>
> She had not accustomed her womanly hands to the distaff or the baskets of Minerva, but was a virgin inured to endure battles and to surpass the winds in running.

This is certainly unusual behavior for a woman, and it is improper from a conventional Roman perspective. The emphasis here is not on her wildness or other Amazonian excess, but instead on Camilla's admirably Roman martial ability *proelia . . . pati* ("to endure battles") and her leadership skills. There is no suggestion, apart from the feminine personal name, of anything odd in the first two lines:[18] *Hos super aduenit Volsca de gente Camilla / agmen agens equitum et florentis aere cateruas* ("After these came Camilla from the Volscian race, leading a column of horsemen and troops flourishing with bronze," *Aen*. 7.803–4).

The rest of the introduction is devoted to the glorious image of the light-footed topos and the focalizing admiration of mothers and young men.[19] De-

spite the best efforts of scholars to exclude Camilla from the massed ranks of Italian allies,[20] what the poem offers is an honorific account of a female soldier who joins the muster on equal terms with the men. It is on these same terms that she fights in the chaotic free-for-all just after the conversation between Diana and Opis in heaven (*Aen*. 11.603–7):

> nec non Messapus contra celeresque Latini
> et cum fratre Coras et uirginis ala Camillae
> aduersi campo apparent, hastasque reductis
> protendunt longe dextris et spicula uibrant,
> aduentusque uirum fremitusque ardescit equorum.
>
> No less on the other side did Messapus and the swift Latins and Coras with his brother and virgin Camilla's wing appear against them on the field, and with right arms drawn far back they extend their spears and shake the darts, and there blazes the advent of men and the din of horses.

Camilla's biography, a kind of extended necrology shared between the poet and the goddess Diana, gives a symbolic etiology for the warrior woman's choice of career. She was brought up by her father, a single parent (the implication of 11.542–3 is that Camilla's mother is dead), who was living in the wild woods after he was deposed and exiled by his people, the Volscians. Metabus's unconventional method of crossing a river with his baby daughter (to escape pursuit) both dedicates the girl to Diana and anticipates her future life, physically enacting her symbolic metamorphosis into a weapon of war: Metabus ties Camilla to a spear and, with a prayer to Diana, throws her across the river before swimming over himself (11.552–66). The performative[21] violence of this genesis ("engendering," perhaps) of Camilla is so striking that readers may fail to notice the extent to which the parent-child relationship redeems the tyrant here, as also happens with Mezentius and Lausus. Moreover, it places Metabus and Camilla in close connection with Anchises, Aeneas, and Ascanius: *caroque oneri timet* ("and he fears for his dear burden," 11.550) echoes *comitique onerique timentem* ("fearing for companion and burden," 2.729). The father and child do not immediately return to civilization (11.567–8), and they lead a pastoral life (11.569), admittedly with rather more hunting of wild animals than herding of sheep. The father trains and cares for his little daughter, bringing her up as a skilled huntswoman. It is at this point that the possibility of her returning to conventional society seems to arise, in that many local mothers (echoing the crowd who later watched her arrive at the muster) would have liked her to marry their sons

(11.581–2). Camilla's devotion to Diana, virginity, and hunting is not only the fulfillment of her father's vow but also the symbolic embodiment of her stage of life, which is that of a female on the threshold of marriage. It is at this point in the story, however, that it all goes wrong for Diana, because instead of choosing either to stay in virginal stasis or move to the next natural phase of life by marrying, Camilla instead signs up for the army (11.582–6).

Diana's story, told entirely from her own point of view, does not explain how it is that Camilla is in a position to take up her role as a successful and clearly much-loved leader of the very Volscian people who had exiled her father and her baby self. Vergil must intend his audience to read between the lines: I might suggest that somewhere between lines 581 and 584, Metabus dies of old age, thus allowing Camilla to grow up and seek reconciliation with her people. There is nothing in the text to indicate such an event explicitly, but what *is* included is Camilla's leadership of the Volscian troops, male as well as female (11.432–3, 498, 801), and her complete integration into the military culture of the native Italians, an assimilation for which some explanation must be provided by the reader.[22] Camilla spent her childhood with her father, her adolescence in the society of Diana and the hunting nymphs, and then her short adulthood as an army officer in her conventional and ancestral position as warlord of her people. For all its wildness and symbolic rejection of norms, this is still a very different background from the deviant female society of Amazons.

It would nonetheless be foolish to claim that Vergil's Camilla has nothing to do with Amazons. What is remarkable is that the mantle of "Amazon" does not wholly swamp her.[23] Like other Vergilian characters, Camilla is built partly out of wide-ranging intertextual links—and, in this case, intratextual ones: her connections with Dido and the real Penthesilea through the window onto the epic cycle provided by the pictures on the doors of the temple of Juno in Dido's Carthage. Here, as elsewhere, intertextuality is as much about difference as similarity. When the real Penthesilea enters the *Aeneid* (1.489–93), she plays a much more traditional Amazonian role, her exposed breast thrusting rather aggressively at the gazing Aeneas and the reader (*Aen*. 1.490–5):

> ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
> Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
> aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae
> bellatrix, audetque uiris concurrere uirgo.
> haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda uidentur,
> dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno.

> Penthesilea, raging, leads the battle lines of her Amazons with their moonlike shields and burns in the midst of the thousands, tying a golden belt beneath her protruding breast, a warrior woman, and dares as a virgin to clash with men. While all these marvellous things passed before the eyes of Dardanian Aeneas, while he is dumbstruck and sticks fast on this one thing.

Vergil reuses the image of the exposed breast with regard to Camilla (11.648–9), but in her case its main purpose seems to be to enable the etymological play on Amazons being breastless, with exposure standing for mutilation.[24] It is for the sake of this play that here, Vergil gives Camilla the epithet "Amazon," which is clearly not intended as a literal ethnographic designation. Although surely designed for minor titillation under the guise of a learned game, Camilla's exposed breast lacks the voyeuristic directness of Penthesilea's, with its golden frame and Aeneas's transfixed gaze. The replacement of the explicit word *mammae* (literally "breast") for Penthesilea with the indirect *latus* (literally "side") for Camilla softens the tone, and its purpose is not just to avoid giving the "answer" to the etymological riddle (although it is that, too). Camilla herself is carelessly unaware of the peeping reader as she gets on with the job (*Aen.* 11.648–51):

> at medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon
> unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
> et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset,
> nunc ualidam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem.
>
> But in the midst of the slaughter exults Amazon Camilla, quiver-clad, one side exposed for the fight, and now she rains down pliant spears from her hand, now she effortlessly seizes a stout axe with her right hand.

In this, her most Amazonian moment, Camilla is likened to the norm by a simile that freezes into a vignette of the Amazon queen surrounded by her troop (*Aen.* 11.659–63):

> quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
> pulsant et pictis[25] bellantur Amazones armis,
> seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru
> Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
> feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.
>
> Like Thracian Amazons when they beat the streams of Thermodon and wage war with their painted arms, either around Hippolyte or when Penthesilea,

> Mars's daughter, sallies forth in her chariot, and with great screaming tumult the womanly battle lines exult with their moonlike shields.

But Vergil's junior officers are Italians,[26] not Amazons, as the immediately preceding lines show (*Aen.* 11.655–8):

> at circum lectae comites, Larinaque uirgo
> Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
> Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
> delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras:
>
> But around her, picked companions, virgin Larina and Tulla and Tarpeia shaking a bronze axe, daughters of Italy, whom godlike Camilla chose for herself as an honor, ministers good for peace and war.

These daughters of Italy have significant names. Amazons, too, often have "speaking" names, but these appellations indicate their martial and violent nature: Antiope, Penthesilea, Hippolyte, Andromache. Vergil's female soldiers, by contrast, have names that place them in Italian and pre-Roman geographical and genealogical history. As Servius says (ad loc.): "these are names of the most noble women of Italy." The first derives from the Samnian town (modern Larino) from which Cicero's client Cluentius came.[27] Tulla is the feminine form of a Roman praenomen held by the third king of Rome, Tullus Hostilius.[28] If there is a hint of the later king here, an echo of his *nomen* ("name") might be an allusion to the typical Amazonian names (*Hostilius—hostis*, "enemy"), but without any gender specification. According to the normal practice of Vergilian name games (and accepted etymology), Tulla could also offer a hint at the more common Roman name famously held by M. Tullius Cicero. Third comes Tarpeia, the most immediately obvious and most problematic of the companions, since the first famous holder of this Roman appellation was the young woman who betrayed Rome to the Sabines (Liv. 1.11.5–9).[29] Acca (not mentioned here, but the close companion who is with Camilla at her death) recalls the name of the foster mother of Romulus and Remus, Acca Larentina.[30]

Camilla herself holds the feminine form of the Roman name Camillus, famously borne by the Roman hero in Book 5 of Livy's *History of Rome*, although Vergil himself coyly links her name with that of her mother, Casmilla (11.543). Rory Egan argues for a highly developed series of references in the poem linking the name to various weapons and types of armor.[31] This may well be a factor in the poem, and it can only support, rather than undermine, a connection with the fierce dictator of the fourth century BCE. Camillus, however, campaigned

against the Volsci in Livy's account. I am not suggesting that Camilla is his many-greats-aunt, but that the name places her clearly in the Roman tradition. Just as Vergil gives etymological progeny to his male heroes through their Roman families (especially, even excessively, at 5.117–23) and problematizes the abuse of the cooped-up Trojans (9.598–620) by the symbolically powerful name of the speaker, Numanus Remulus, he places the Italian women soldiers in the same tradition of myth and history.

In an excellent article on Camilla and ecphrasis, Barbara Boyd shows how, particularly in the catalog in Book 7, Camilla is written into the ethnographic tradition of the "foreign marvel."[32] This is indeed true, and it is an important element in Camilla's representation both positively, as a beautiful and admirable thing, and negatively, as something that does not quite fit with the grand march of Roman progress. It seems important to note, however, that Vergil does not allow his readers the simple response of constructing this group of female soldiers as belonging to that exotic Otherness where dangerous attractions are safely distanced. Rather, he is at pains to stress the native Italianness of the women as characters who, like so many others in this story, will be not wholly rejected, but transformed into Romans, at least in their genealogical line if not in their individual persons.

I have presented the three passages above out of order. What Vergil offers is as follows: Amazonian exposed breast, followed by Latin lieutenants, providing an entrée into the full-blown Amazonian simile. The simile itself is closely aligned with Vergil's picture of Amazons, even down to verbal quotations such as *lunatis . . . peltis* ("moonlike shields," 1.490, 11.663). This is conventional, and even obvious. Thus Vergil, with almost Ovidian playfulness, offers and retracts and offers again the temptation to read Camilla as an "Amazon."[33]

What happens next, however, is an epic *aristeia* for Camilla, introduced by an authorial apostrophe (*Aen.* 11.664–7):[34]

> Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera uirgo,
> deicis? aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis?
> Eunaeum Clytio primum patre, cuius apertum
> aduersi longa transuerberat abiete pectus.
>
> Whom first, harsh maiden, did you cast down with your weapon, whom last? Or how many dying bodies did you pour forth on the ground? First Eunaeus, son of Clytius, whose naked breast as he stood against her she transfixed with a long lance.

Typical features of such scenes are present in Vergil: different forms of or situations regarding death (11.670–3), virtuoso lines of piled-up names (11.675), and verbal boasting (*Aen*. 11.686–9):

> "siluis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?
> aduenit qui uestra dies muliebribus armis
> uerba redargueret. nomen tamen haud leue patrum
> manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae."
>
> "Did you think you were chasing wild animals in the woods, Etruscan? The day has come which will refute your words about women's arms. And yet you will carry this fame/name, no light thing, to the hands of your fathers, that you fell to the weapon of Camilla."

In this regard, Camilla is no more "arrogant" than any other martial hero, including Aeneas. It is normal practice to taunt your opponent, but the final words here have a special significance. The last person in the poem to draw on the idea that the valor of the conqueror can confer honor on the victim was Aeneas, who said similar words over the body of Lausus: *hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem: / Aeneae magni dextra cadis* ("Yet you can take solace in your pitiable death from this: you fall at the hand of great Aeneas," *Aen*. 10.829–30).

The connection does more than simply place Camilla's words within the norm of heroic behavior; it specifically links her to the death of Lausus, whose role is important, as it offers a reason why Camilla is not an Amazon. In the cyclic *Aethiopis*, Achilles fell in love with Penthesilea in the act of killing her. It is perhaps not surprising that Vergil chose a highly sanitized version of this story to include in his epic—the death of the young Etruscan lad Lausus, killed in battle and then "loved" in a mixture of erotic, paternal, and moral admiration by Aeneas. The death of Lausus and its aftermath not only enables an outpouring of critical admiration for Aeneas's piety, pity, and innate peacefulness, but it also importantly absolves Camilla from playing the Penthesilea role as erotic object for her killer. Unlike the Amazon, the Volscian is killed by a nonentity who gains no martial or sexual advantage from his victory and is swiftly punished by Camilla's patron Diana (11.858–66). Diana also arranges for Camilla's body to be removed from the battlefield and returned in honor to her fatherland (11.593–4), in the manner of the Homeric Sarpedon (*Il*. 16.453–7). Does this divine shield save her from the prying eyes of readers, as it does from any internal character in the poem who might be tempted to play the Achilles role?

Morello claims that there is nothing eroticized about Camilla.[35] By contrast, Alison Keith, following Philippe Heuzé, sees the deaths of Dido and Camilla as the only ones that are prolonged "in artistic development of the spectacle of agony,"[36] and she thus interprets at least the death (if not the life) of Camilla as eroticized. I would agree that it borders on the impossible to resist entirely a certain amount of eroticization in Camilla's death. Yet my point here is that Vergil has gone to some lengths to downplay the potential eroticism of Camilla's death by avoiding, and explicitly turning aside, the obvious Amazonian intertext of Penthesilea and Achilles. This narrative choice contributes to placing Camilla more clearly in the standard heroic mold than what the poet could otherwise have done.

In her death as in her life, critics have regularly linked Camilla with Dido, the *dux femina* with the *proelia uirgo (dura pati)*.[37] I agree that this is an important element in the narrative structure and characterization of the epic. Camilla's death, however, is as much opposed to that of Dido as it is linked with it, as is illustrated in her *ultima uerba*, or "final words" (*Aen*. 11.823–7):

> "hactenus, Acca soror, potui: nunc uulnus acerbum
> conficit, et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.
> effuge et haec Turno mandata nouissima perfer:
> succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe.
> iamque uale."
>
> "So far, sister Acca, I have been able: now a bitter wound wears me out, and everything grows dark in the shadows around. Run and take this last message to Turnus. Let him advance to the battle and keep the Trojans away from the city. And now farewell."

The address to her companion is clearly meant to echo *Anna soror* ("sister Anna," *Aen*. 4.9); the *uulnus* ("wound") is a reminder of the erotic, sexual, and suicidal wound of Dido; and the statement of achievement to evoke Dido's autobiographical epitaph (4.653–8). But Dido's last words (spoken alone) cursed Aeneas and bemoaned her abandoned state, whereas Camilla's thoughts and words are only for the furtherance of the war. Her "sister" is not to grieve over her body, but to rush through to the commander-in-chief with an important military message. When Camilla's death occurs, it is far closer to that of Turnus than of Dido. The exact repetition between 11.831 and the final line of the poem, *uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* ("and the life with a groan flees in resentment

beneath the shades"), may seem like a fault of completion or of tradition to some readers, but to others, me included, it seems like an intentional link between the two deaths. That link could emphasize the dangerous and harmful nature of both Italians, elements who have to be overcome in order that all may turn to face the shining future, but it also seals Camilla's place within the allied Italian forces.

Ovid

If Vergil offers readers a female soldier, the subversive, gender- and genre-bending Ovid might go one step further. In fact, although he does offer warrior women a range of roles, none of them escapes the totalizing masculine gaze, the construction of themselves as Other, or the concomitant humiliation that undermines their attempts to contribute in traditionally masculine areas. One of the ways in which Ovid confronts the difficulty of following Vergil is to take his martial scenes outside of full-scale war and develop them instead in the hunt and in drunken brawls. Hunting gives an obvious opportunity for shaping and controlling the Other: the eroticized virgin nymph, devoted to Diana and to pursuing animals, is set up for rape, which forces her into her "proper" femininity. Such is the position of Callisto, who nonetheless starts out in a remarkably martial vein. When Callisto is seen by Jupiter as he goes around checking the world after the flood, she is introduced with the topos of "not liking women's tasks": *non erat huius opus lanam mollire trahendo / nec positu uariare comas* ("It was not her task to soften wool by drawing it out nor to vary her hairstyle," *Met*. 2.411–12). The two "women's tasks" that Callisto rejects belong, respectively, to the spheres of respectable matron and erotic object. The passage thus answers and trumps the introduction of Vergil's Camilla, who "had not accustomed her womanly hands to the distaff or the baskets of Minerva" (*non . . . colo calathisue Mineruae / femineas adsueta manus*, Verg. *Aen*. 7.805–6), that is, to two items, both of which belong to the sphere of the matron. The juxtaposition of *proelia* ("battles") and *uirgo* ("virgin")—terms applied to Camilla—is also trumped by Callisto's explicit designation as a soldier (*miles*), a word used nowhere else in the *Metamorphoses* in any transferred sense: *et modo leue manu iaculum, modo sumpserat arcum, / miles erat Phoebes* ("And now she had taken up a smooth missile with a hand, now a bow; she was a soldier of Phoebe," *Met*. 2.414–15). Callisto's close parallel, Daphne, was an *aemula Phoebes* ("rival of Phoebe," 1.476). Franz Bömer (ad loc.) notes the oddity of *miles* ("soldier"),[38] but he is too quick to associate it with the erotic metaphor of *militia amoris* ("soldiering of love"), which is quite a different story and one in which a *miles* is always a man. Ovid,

rather, is playing with the possibility of presenting Callisto as an ordinary soldier.

Callisto lies down to rest from hunting, using her quiver as a pillow (2.421), as any common soldier might, but she is soon tricked and raped by Jupiter. After the rape, she almost forgets to take her equipment with her (439–40), for these items have now become symbols both of lost virginity and subverted masculine pretension. Although she attempts to continue in her huntress role, her inevitable pregnancy is discovered and she is cast out of Diana's following. Callisto's attempt to be a soldier, then, is wholly undermined by the weight of tradition that makes the hunting nymph neither partner nor threat, but fair game.

Rather more grandly epic is the woman who joins the band of the greatest old-time heroes to face the Calydonian boar. This is Atalanta, with whom the catalog of heroes culminates, in a manner obviously designed to reflect Camilla's position at the end of the catalog in Book 7 of the *Aeneid*. Atalanta's introduction, like that of Camilla, is the most developed and is the last one in the catalog: she is *nemoris decus* ("glory of the grove"), paralleling Camilla's *decus Italiae* ("glory of Italy"), the designation given to Camilla by Turnus in admiration for her martial bravery and skill (*Aen*. 11.508).[39] Atalanta is a valiant member of the group, the first to wound the boar (8.380–3).[40] But it would be wrong to think that she is allowed to succeed on equal terms with men. Unlike Camilla, Atalanta is highly eroticized: her description in the catalog, for all its connection with that of Camilla, is highly visual, sexual, and metamorphic, explicitly set up to draw the hero into perilous desire (*Met*. 8.318–25):

> rasilis huic summam mordebat fibula uestem,
> crinis erat simplex, nodum conlectus in unum,
> ex umero pendens resonabat eburnea laeuo
> telorum custos, arcum quoque laeua tenebat.
> talis erat cultu; facies, quam dicere uere
> uirgineam in puero, puerilem in uirgine possis.
> hanc pariter uidit, pariter Calydonius heros
> optauit.
>
> A polished brooch nibbled the top of her cloak, her hair was simple, gathered in a single knot, hanging from her left shoulder an ivory quiver rattled, and her left hand carried also a bow; such was her adornment. Her face was such as you could truly call girlish in a boy, boyish in a girl. As soon as he saw her, so soon did the Calydonian hero desire.

Unlike Camilla, Atalanta's glory depends on a man who admires her beauty rather than her prowess: Meleager delights in her success, but only because he has been smitten by her face, and the phrasing of his acclamation of the boar's wounding almost seems to question its reality and move the initiative to the lover (8.384–7). In further contrast with Camilla, Atalanta is not given the opportunity to speak, despite both the flattery and the abuse she receives from the other hunters. Even before the hunt begins, Atalanta is condemned to her erotic role by an insidious Argonautic intertext. Apollonius had brought together a star-studded cast of heroes from yesteryear (as does Ovid) to join the expedition in search of the Golden Fleece. Although at least temporary room was found for Heracles, despite his outsize personality, Atalanta was explicitly barred, precisely because of the sexually charged risks she posed for the expedition,[41] risks that Ovid now displays as being at work in the Calydonian boar hunt.

An Atalanta reappears later in the *Metamorphoses*,[42] in Venus's badly judged story designed to dissuade Adonis from hunting dangerous prey. Although this Atalanta starts out independently, having consulted the oracle and set a condition for herself that she will not marry a man who cannot beat her in a footrace (10.569–72), she quickly succumbs to love at the sight of Hippomenes and is easily overcome in the race by her desire for the apples. Perhaps the apples are just an excuse, because it is already abundantly clear that she does not really want to win (10.659–60), but it also could be that her desire for the apples, which are her undoing, answers Camilla's desire for the spoils of Chloreus, which resulted in her fatal loss of concentration. If Morello is right to see Camilla's desire more in martial than in feminine terms, Atalanta could be as Ovid's eroticizing and belittling correction of Vergil's dangerously egalitarian presentation of the warrior woman.

The remaining references to warrior women in the *Metamorphoses* would do little to undermine this suggestion: the story of Atalanta and Hippomenes is closely followed by the destruction of its second-level author, Orpheus, by a group of deranged Bacchants: warrior women in their most excessive, most madly and irrationally female, and most dangerous guise, yet one that is somehow less threatening because of its excess. Two direct allusions to Amazons serve only to stress the status quo: one in Hercules's account of his labors (9.189), and one at the death of Achilles, when the author taunts the hero with the Penthesilea story but does not tell it outright (12.611). One more passage, however, is worth a mention: the description of the centaur couple who take part in the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs. Here something is played out among half-

humans that never appears in human society. The beautiful young couple are equally matched: they hunt together, they fight together, and they die together (12.393–428). Given the similarities in the roles of Amazons and Centaurs in Greek mythic consciousness (as discussed by DuBois), and the deviance of both groups that is crucially expressed in their opposition to marriage (whether because of too much sex or not enough), it seems a delightful irony that Ovid should make a vignette out of a centaur couple where the advancement of the female enables the pair's marital equality. Or perhaps it is not so much an irony as a statement: the idea of marital equality is as weird as anything else to do with Centaurs and Amazons.

After Ovid

When, toward the end of the horror and chaos that dominates Statius's *Thebaid*, Theseus rides in to put all to rights, there is no doubt about his power to tame the Amazons. He has just returned from victory over the female warriors, who at this point are being driven before him, bloody but unbowed. The Amazons hope for some support from the virgin warrior goddess of Athens, but to no avail (*Theb.* 12.523–31). It is clear that this Athena is supporting the male, in the shape of her champion Theseus, and his rights to subordinate the female and all forces of disorder. Theseus's most remarkable conquest is of the Amazon queen, Hippolyte, who has rejected the customs of her race and accepted Theseus, pregnancy, and clothes (*Theb.* 532–9).[43]

When Theseus receives the call to set out on an expedition against Thebes, with a view to imposing civilized behavior on King Creon, Hippolyte would like to join the battle, leading her Amazons, but is unable to do so because of her pregnancy (*Theb.* 2.635–8):

> isset et Arctoas Cadmea ad moenia ducens
> Hippolyte turmas: retinet iam certa tumentis
> spes uteri, coniunxque rogat dimittere curas
> Martis et emeritas thalamo sacrare pharetras.
>
> Hippolyte would also have gone to Cadmus's walls leading her crowds: already the sure hope of her swelling womb holds her back, and her husband asks her to put aside the cares of Mars and to dedicate her retired quivers to/in the bedroom.

Is this female warrior just on maternity leave (although *emeritas* would suggest that this is final), or is it that Statius, for all his interest in exploring the range of

female characters, cannot quite envisage someone who combines the roles of wife, mother, and warrior?[44]

It would be unfair to accuse Statius of thoughtless chauvinism. His poem in fact abounds with compelling female characters, none more so than Atalanta, the anxious and grieving mother of the doomed boy-hero Parthenopaeus, who has joined the Argive host. This Atalanta, a devoted follower of Diana, remains a huntress who, one feels, ought to be able to turn her hand to war if she so chose. Indeed, Parthenopaeus only manages to slip off to the war because she is busy at the time with "establishing peace in distant groves" (4.248–50). Atalanta just manages to catch the departing forces and attempts to hold Parthenopaeus back with what might look like a typical mother's prayer, except that it involves a reminder of the time when he needed *her* help to overcome a boar, and a promise that when he is old enough she herself will give him weapons of war and will not hold him back with weeping, all of which does make her rather an unusual mother.[45] He leaves, nonetheless, and our next sight of Atalanta is when she awakes from foreboding dreams and prays to her patron Diana for her son's protection (9.570). Atalanta appears to be a single parent, who acknowledges the engendering of her child only in oblique and apologetic reference to the act that took her away from the company of Diana (9.613–19). Just as Hippolyte had to give up her career as a result of her maternity, so even Atalanta, who maintains some degree of "professional" activity after giving birth, cannot combine roles. She is a devoted mother but not, it seems, a wife; she remains a powerful warrior in her own right, but one who must stay at home and grieve, rather than go to war, because being a mother trumps everything.[46]

Not to be outdone, Silius Italicus has a warrior woman charge out of nowhere into his Punic war epic (*Pun.* 2.56). Her entry, unlike Camilla's and the Ovidian Atalanta's, is not motivated by a catalog of heroes, but in other ways her representation is clearly based on that of Camilla.[47] Asbyte is an African queen, daughter of the Garamantian Hiarbas (Vergil's Iarbas) and his wife, the nymph Tritonis. Asbyte fulfills the usual expectations of virginity, hunting, and opposition to female tasks (2.68–72). A predictable Amazon simile follows. The description of her appearance is visual but not particularly objectifying (*Pun.* 2.77–81):

> Ergo habitu insignis patrio, religata fluentem
> Hesperidum nodo crinem dextrumque feroci
> nuda latus[48] Marti ac fulgentem tegmine laeuam
> Thermodontiaca munita in proelia pelta,
> fumantem rapidis quatiebat cursibus axem.

> And so outstanding in her ancestral garb, her flowing hair bound in a knot from the Hesperides, her right side naked for fierce Mars and her left arm shining with its covering, protected for battle with an Amazonian shield, she was shaking her smoking chariot in its rapid course.

Like every other woman warrior, as opposed to huntress, she is supported by a coterie of female followers. The idea that a woman might do anything of this nature without a band of friends seems to be anathema. What is surprising, however, is that some of Asbyte's followers are not virgins, though most of them are (*Pun.* 2.83–4):

> pars comitum biiugo curru, pars cetera dorso
> fertur equi; nec non Veneris iam foedera passae
> reginam cingunt, sed uirgine densior ala est.
>
> Some of her companions drive in a two-horsed chariot, others on horseback; some of those who surrounded the queen have already undergone the pacts of Venus, but the battle-wing is more dense with virgins.

Silius Italicus presents this information without any obvious point. In Augustan epic, a married woman generally had to resign her position as a warrior, while Statius imposed various restrictions on married women and mothers returning to work (see above). Perhaps Silius intends to shock his readers with something even more bizarre: a warrior nonmaid. If that is the case, however, he is remarkably matter-of-fact about it.[49]

After this unexpected piece of information, it is even more surprising that there is not any further eroticization of Asbyte or her followers.[50] The warrior queen enjoys a successful, if rather short, *aristeia* before Theron, a priest of Hercules, panics her horses with his lion outfit and smashes her skull. Asbyte's head is then displayed on a spike, but there is no objectifying eroticism, or even any great stress on visuality. The most immediate Vergilian role for her here would be that of Nisus and Euryalus, whose heads are similarly mistreated, but there seems to be no great attempt to draw on the eroticization of their deaths. Soon, however, Asbyte acquires a hint of Dido when Hannibal himself rises up as her avenger, kills Theron, and arranges a grand funeral for Asbyte that involves carrying her enemy's body three times round the pyre (*Pun.* 2.266). The Iliadic resonance ensures that Asbyte, who began as a Camilla character, ends up as Patroclus, drawing attention to connections between those two that have been noted by readers of Vergil. No longer an objectified Amazon Other, Asbyte

now seems to be in sight of a role like that of any other hero. Perhaps the possibility is growing for female warriors to sign up.

Among the post-Vergilian poets, however, Valerius Flaccus, in his version of the *Argonautica* myth, seems the least interested in developing the idea of the woman warrior. His Lemnian women are negatively feminized as mad furies, credulous and emotional, driven by sexual jealousy. They do not take on male roles, and the movements—from murder, to the absence of men, to the arrival of the Argonauts, to their departure—all happen very quickly. Valerius's Argonauts are warned off from Amazons, who are presented as nearer to goddesses or gorgons than to women (*Arg.* 4.601–4). The barbaric Aeetes has an Amazon champion—who is first observed when the treacherous king is pointing out to Jason the captains in his war against the Scythians, and again seen very briefly in the battle in Book 6 (*Arg.* 6.371–80)—but she is of little interest. This Amazon is no more than a token woman, an obligatory Camilla character with none of Vergil's interest in the phenomenon, whose femininity is equated with the barbarity, wildness, insolence, and all-round un-Greekness of her forces, thus powerfully reinforcing the reading of gender and ethnicity DuBois's derives from her account of the Greek culture several hundred years earlier.[51]

I have offered here only a small taste of what post-Vergilian readers have done with the legacy of the woman soldier. Vergil's complexity and sensitivity to the possibility of awarding space to the professional woman in her own right is never matched throughout the rest of ancient poetry, where the pitfalls of tokenism and objectification—from which even Vergil cannot entirely escape—threaten to overwhelm the characterization of women soldiers. Even Ovid, Vergil's best reader, is more inclined to correct his predecessor's foray into a form of gender equality than to follow it. The story, as it pans out between imperial Roman epic and the modern world, illustrates how difficult it is for a woman to enter a man's world on equal terms, even in fiction, but it also shows that poets were exploring the question long before the political world began to think about it.

NOTES

1. Ducrey (chapter 10) is very helpful in examining some of the traces of female military action within a range of classical authors. It is noteworthy that several of the contributors in this volume take the strategy of what I would call a "releasing" feminist reading, rather than a "resisting" one: that is, they draw out the often occluded instances of female action and female significance, as opposed to the alter-

native (also valid, but perhaps more common) strategy of describing (and objecting to) the passive suffering and invisibility of women. I note particularly in this regard Georgoudi (chapter 11), Hallett (chapter 14), and Sebillotte Cuchet (chapter 13). Even suffering, however, need not always be represented negatively, as is shown by Fabre-Serris (chapter 6) on how the passive victimhood and grief of Seneca's women can also become a model of stoic fortitude.

2. Walcot 1984: 42. That such a reading is in keeping with the overwhelming message from both classical literature and modern interpretations is demonstrated by the regularity with which contributors to this volume have drawn attention to (and problematized) the strength of gender expectations surrounding war, to the extent of showing that the modern critical tradition makes women's role in war even less visible than it was in antiquity.

3. DuBois 1982. See also Foley 2005; Hardwick 1990; Lefkowitz 1986: ch. 1. Hardwick 1990: 34 draws attention to the potential in some Greek manifestations of the Amazon myth for a more nuanced interpretation of these warrior women, including the idea of an "aggressive female" as "a challenge" to the "polarity in classical thought [that] was conventionally between the ideas of aggressive male and submissive female." As she says, however, "that challenge was insufficiently comprehended (then as now) to be formalized in debate about Greek attitudes and practices." Ducrey (chapter 10) pays close attention to the role of Amazons in connection with warlike goddesses, rather than ordinary women.

4. See the monumental work of Von Bothmer 1957. There is a simpler account in Hardwick 1990: 23–33. Stewart 1995 lays particular stress on Amazons as untamed virgins whose wildness must be tempered (but which has certain attractions, see esp. 578–9).

5. DuBois 1982 argues that, despite this inversion of normal Greek womanhood, the Amazon in some ways represents the extreme case of reality for every Greek woman. Note also the argument of McInerney 2003: that *andreia* is so problematic a concept when applied to women that there is ultimately no way for ancient commentators to square the circle on bravery (manliness) on the part of women. See his comment apropos the myth of Amazons (McInerney 2003: 324): "nothing could better demonstrate why the order of things had to include the social seclusion of women . . . than to imagine what would happen if these restrictions were not in place: these warrior women who had invaded Attica had to be beaten by Theseus. In the Athenian imaginary, there was no figure half so scary as the woman who walked, talked, and fought like a man."

6. Plutarch *Life of Theseus* 26–8. See also DuBois 1982: 32–3.

7. And beyond. See the opening paragraphs of Hardwick 1990; Kleinbaum 1983.

8. Exploration of this idea can be found in several of the chapters, including my own, in Spentzou and Fowler 2002.

9. J. Clauss 1993: 144 suggests that the usurpation of male roles among the Lemnian women goes beyond donning armor and tilling fields, to the extent that it constitutes a potential emasculinization of the Argonauts: "Not only did the women assume a more aggressive role in establishing relationships with the Argonauts, but

there is allusion to several passages that suggest that contact with the Lemnian women has threatened to unman those Argonauts who left the shore." This may be true, but I do not think it is incompatible with my sense that the Lemnian attempt at masculine appropriation is dangerously ridiculous. Nelis 2001: 308–9 sees Apollonius's Lemnian women as an important intertext for Camilla. Another fighting woman in Greek literature is Herodotus's Artemisia, who has been suggested as a possible intertext for Vergil's Camilla (on which see Boyd 1992), but my interest here is specifically with the epic tradition.

10. The only Homeric reference to Amazons comes in Priam's reminiscence of an early expedition of his in which they are briefly mentioned (*Il.* 3.188–90). Williams 1961: 153n2 says that Camilla has been developed partly out of "popular Italian folklore."

11. Morello 2008.

12. Morello 2008: 57.

13. There is a rather complicated argument about the meaning of her undecorated shield in Morello 2008.

14. Dinter 2005: 163, in a discussion of the commemoration of dead heroes, especially minor ones, suggests that Camilla's uncertainty over what to do with the spoils from Chloreus contrasts with the ultimate manly spoil-taker, Aeneas. This seems right, but it is important to note that both options have strong epic precedent.

15. According to Westphal 1996; I have not read Heinrich von Yeldeke's *Eneit*. This is not, however, to deny the richness of Camilla's progeny in the medieval and early-modern romance tradition in figures such as Ariosto's Marfisa and Bradamante (e.g., see Roche 1988).

16. Scholars have noticed inconsistencies between Camilla's finery in the catalog of allies and her plainly attired presentation at the time of her *aristeia*; see Boyd 1992. Rather than interpret these as signs of incompletion, I would suggest, implicitly with Boyd, that each representation should be taken on its own terms. From a rationalizing point of view, it is not impossible that a warrior might dress up for the muster but then wear sensible clothes when getting down to business.

17. Many scholars give at least a vignette to Camilla's life story. See, for example, Fratantuono 2005; Wilhelm 1987.

18. In an online article on Camilla that takes a similar positive line to mine here, Harrington Becker 1997 stresses the creative ambiguity of the Volscian: "Vergil's concealing and then revealing the identity and gender of the victorious warrior serves to create an atmosphere mimicking that of warfare, the confusion and horror. This is ambiguity's purpose here. An emphasis on victims, the difficulty in identifying the victorious, and the result of warfare suggests less than glorious achievements. Camilla is a salient example of the uneasiness about warfare which pervades the epic."

19. Boyd 1992: 231–3, 222–3, respectively.

20. Williams 1961: 149: "It is immediately evident that the structure is framed by the two most mighty warriors, Mezentius at the beginning and Turnus at the end,

and that the final haunting lines which describe the warrior-queen Camilla act as a sort of pendant, bringing the book to a close on a note of strange beauty."

21. I use "performative" in the sense that the girl seems to be symbolically created by this action, with the penetrating spear standing for sexual intercourse.

22. Fratantuono 2005: 149: "Further, Camilla, despite her upbringing in the woods, has somehow by the time of Book 11 managed to be the loved leader of her Volscian cavalry contingent—a clear indication of her ability to perform in a communal setting outside the forest."

23. Verbal and thematic parallels between Camilla and Book 1's Penthesilea are cataloged by Lowenstam 1993: 42. See also Fratantuono 2006: 39.

24. O'Hara 1996: 292. See Horsfall 2003: 365 for the "rationalising explanation [that] dictated that Amazons kept the right shoulder undraped to have that arm free for action." Any woman would tell you that constriction of one's shoulder by clothing would be a minor inconvenience compared with the discomfort of an exposed breast.

25. Camilla's shield is, in fact, plain, not decorated.

26. Parry's 1963 seminal article on the alternative voice in the *Aeneid* presented the pure pastoral innocence of Italy as being polluted by the arrival of the Trojans. The wholly positive interpretation of pre-Trojan Italy within the poem has been questioned many times, for example by Moorton 1989, who denies the innocence of Camilla, but not her Italianness.

27. Horsfall 2003: 367; C. Saunders 1940: 547.

28. C. Saunders 1940: 543 says that "from the Italy of legend and of primitive times a dozen names are furnished to the Latins—Anchemolus, Dercennus, Murranus, Numa, Numitor, Romulus, Remus, Rhoetus, Silvia, Tarpeia, Tulla, Tyrrhus." Horsfall 2003: 367 refers to Tullus Hostilius, without comment.

29. Horsfall 2003: 368 says that "her fame and daring outweigh any stain."

30. See also Horsfall 2003: 434.

31. Egan 1983. Paschalis 1997: 364–70 develops an interesting edifice of significance around Camilla through spears, flight, lightness, and sight.

32. Boyd 1992.

33. See, for example, Nelis 2001: 309: "The eroticism of these Apollonian scenes sparks off a current which runs through Vergil's story of the doomed warrior-maid. She is an example, and not the first in this book, of feminine excess, of a perverted eroticism, a dangerous but attractive sexuality."

34. Horsfall 2003: 371 rightly compares this with *Il.* 5.703.

35. Morello 2008: 56. She points to the absence of any significant romantic or erotic material surrounding Camilla: "Turnus is certainly not in love with her."

36. Heuzé 1985; Keith 2000: 116–7.

37. Fratantuono 2006: esp. 32–40.

38. Bömer 1969.

39. The word *decus* can apply to men or women in the *Metamorphoses*, for example, to Herse (2.725) and Achilles (12.612).

40. She has no role in the Homeric version of the story (*Il.* 9.543). Callimachus's reference (*Hymn* 3.215–31), in a catalog of women who have been favorites of Artemis, makes her involvement in the hunt wholly unproblematic.

41. See Keith 2000: 66–7.

42. See Bömer 1977: ad loc. for the identification/confusion of Atalantas. See also Keith 2002: 390–4 on the way Statius has used Ovid's Atalanta and Vergil's Camilla in the characterization of Parthenopaeus.

43. See Fucecchi 2007: 13 on Hippolyte as a paradoxical normalization of Vergil's Camilla: "Se, dunque, Camilla aveva rappresentato un nuovo modello di giovane guerriera misteriosa e ammantata di leggenda, capace di rimanere fedele al proprio codice di valori eroici e alla verginità—e, tuttavia, destinata a perdersi per un istintivo accesso di avidità e di vanità femminile—l'immagine finale di Ippolita sconfitta e disarmata è l'emblema dell'amazzone che ha rinunciato alla propria natura (e perfino all'alone leggendario) per calarsi nella nuova realtà di sposa e futura madre."

44. But contrast Bessone (chapter 7) on Argia.

45. Parthenopaeus taunts his enemy: *ferrum mea semper et arcus/ mater habet, uestri feriunt caua tympana patres* ("my mother always has weapon and bows, whereas your fathers strike the hollow tambourine," Stat. *Theb.* 9.89–90).

46. See Augoustakis 2010.

47. Augoustakis 2010: 117–9.

48. Note the Vergilian reference here.

49. Keith 2010: 366–9 elucidates the Orientalizing representation of this African queen. She reads Asbyte's death as a naturalization of the "hierarchy of gender and westward impetus of *translatio imperii*."

50. Augoustakis 2010: esp. 95–6, 122–6, in an important study of this figure, explores the gendered complexities in more detail than is possible for me to do here.

51. DuBois 1982.

War in the Feminine in Ancient Greece

PIERRE DUCREY

"War shall be the business of menfolk." This line from the *Iliad* (6.492) is taken up by Aristophanes, who gives it to Lysistrata. The magistrate agrees: "He was right on the mark, I say." Lysistrata's response, however, is forceful: "How could he be right, you sorry fool, when we were forbidden to offer advice even when your policy was wrong?" (Ar. *Lys*. 520–2).[1]

"Gender" studies by modern critics have shown only a very marginal interest in the role of women in war and in the impact of conflicts on them. As the contents of the present volume show, this subject, although it has not been much studied to date, introduces new and challenging issues. If traditional literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources are examined from an angle that links women and war, the resulting observations broaden and supplement the study of the sociology of war in antiquity, especially in the Greek world. The topic has been covered in the numerous general works about women that have appeared in recent decades, but until now those who study war have paid very little attention to it.[2] The 2009 EuGeStA conference in Lille and the chapters presented in this volume significantly enrich the historiography of war in antiquity.

My discussion of women's participation in war in the Greek world is divided into two sections. In the first, I review the military exploits in which women were involved or played an active role, whether as combatants or by providing support for their side. In the second, I consider what happened to women whose homeland was defeated or who were captured.

Female Deities in War

"But go to the house and busy yourself with your own tasks, the loom and the distaff, and tell your handmaids to ply their work: and war will be the concern for men, all of those who live in Ilios, but especially for me." Such are Hector's words to Andromache (ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε / ἱστόν

Figure 10.1. Theseus abducts Antiope. Marble group. Eretria, sixth century BCE. Courtesy of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

τ᾽ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε / ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει / πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐμοί, τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν, *Il.* 6.490–3, trans. Murray, revised by Wyatt 1999). It is not only Hector who has plenty of advice to offer about war. The "father of gods and men," Zeus himself, speaks to Aphrodite when she returns, wounded, from the battlefield: "Not to you, my child, are given works of war; but attend to the lovely works of marriage, and all these things shall be the business of swift Ares and Athene" (οὔ τοι τέκνον ἐμὸν δέδοται πολεμήϊα ἔργα, / ἀλλὰ σύ γ᾽ ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο, / ταῦτα δ᾽ Ἄρηϊ θοῷ καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει, *Il.* 5.427–30). Zeus's daughter Athena emerged from her father's head in full armor. In the *Iliad* she plays an active role in the fighting, for example in the episode in which she drives Diomedes's chariot against Ares, admittedly while rendered invisible by Hades's helmet (*Il.* 5.792–871).

Figure 10.2. Achilles kills Penthesilea and falls in love with her. Red-figure cup by the Penthesilea painter, about 460 BCE. Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich, AM 2688/1.

The many Gigantomachic scenes that adorn Greek sacred buildings from the sixth century BCE onward pit the Olympian gods—but also the goddesses—against the Giants. On the pediment of the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian acropolis, the goddess strikes a Giant down with the help of her unfurled aegis, from which springs a snake's sharp head. The frieze on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi shows Athena, Artemis, and Cybele. Athena, Artemis, and several female deities (such as triple Hecate, Nyx, Selene, a lion-goddess, Nike, and others) are found in the carved decoration of the Great Altar of Pergamon. The mythical battle between the Greeks and the Amazons involved many female warriors, especially Antiope, who, on the west pediment of the temple at Eretria, is being carried off by Theseus (fig. 10.1). According to legend, Amazons came to the aid of the Trojans, and as a result Achilles killed their queen, Penthesilea. This scene is frequently depicted on Attic vases (fig. 10.2). Amazonomachies are found on the friezes of the temples of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae and Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, and there is another on the tomb of King Mausolus at Halicarnassus. In a funeral speech, Lysias refers to the Amazons, the only women to wear iron armor and the first ones to ride on horseback: "They were regarded as males because of their courage rather than

females because of their nature" (ἐνομίζοντο δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἄνδρες ἢ διὰ τὴν φύσιν γυναῖκες, Lys. 2.4, trans. Todd 2000, adapted).

This selection of examples shows that while war—or combat, at any rate—was men's business, goddesses and female mythological characters such as the Amazons were omnipresent in the battles recounted in texts and depicted in carved decorations and Greek vase paintings. Victory, who came to crown the winners, was a winged female deity. Her warrior exploits decorate the parapet of the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian acropolis, and there are some famous representations of her as a commanding female figure: Paionios of Mende's statue of Victory at Olympia, and the Victory of Samothrace, which once decorated a fountain in the sanctuary of the Cabeiri and today can be found, triumphant, in the Louvre Museum.

Women's Participation in War

I begin with some general remarks about how wars are conducted and studied. A key feature of modern wars has been their global aspect. It is a truism that the wars of the twentieth century were unprecedented in their scale, and that the impact they had on both combatants and the civilian population was of a severity hitherto unknown. They also had additional consequences: the development of non-frontline services, which are essential to an army's efficiency and success. "Non-frontline" here refers not only to wartime production, but also the contribution made by noncombatants to armies, especially in the form of logistics: the supply train, transport, provision of ammunition, maintenance of weapons, replenishment of equipment and food, care of the wounded, and moral support for the combatants. In ancient warfare, just as in modern conflicts, the part played by women could prove decisive. It would therefore be simplistic to imply that because women did not line up in the hoplite phalanx, the role they took on in the fighting forces, and even their participation in military campaigns, were trivial or insignificant. Recognizing this permits the words of Lysistrata at the beginning of the chapter to be fully understood. Although this chapter is necessarily limited in scope, its aim is to draw attention to the role of women in ancient warfare as a whole and to point out that it was much more significant than has previously been thought.[3]

Women in antiquity were able to play an active role in confrontations proper, and their participation is mentioned from the first year of the Peloponnesian War (431 BCE) onward. When Theban troops made a surprise entry into the small town of Plataea by night, the women and slaves climbed up to the roofs and started to cry out and throw stones and tiles onto the assailants. The The-

bans panicked and withdrew, leaving behind men who were taken prisoner (Thuc. 2.4.2).

On more than one occasion, Greek history attests to a situation in which women climbed onto house roofs and assaulted attackers by hurling objects found on the spot (i.e., stones and tiles). This happened during the disturbances on Corcyra, when women gave support to the popular party's forces by throwing tiles onto the aristocrats from the rooftops (Thuc. 3.74.1). The women of Selinus also took to the roofs of their homes to throw tiles on the Carthaginians once the wall of the town's inner fortifications had fallen (Diod. Sic. 13.56.8). The most famous demonstration of how effective this kind of desperate defense could be was the death of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, caused by a tile thrown by an Argive woman from the roof of her house.[4] According to the tradition transmitted by Plutarch, the woman who accomplished this historic feat did so because she was beside herself when seeing her son face to face with the king (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34.1–4; Paus. 1.13.8; Polyaenus *Strat.* 8.68).

Before Pyrrhus's invasion of Laconia, the Lacedaemonians decided to send their women to Crete, but the women refused (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 27.4). During the siege of Chios, the proposals made by Philip V of Macedonia to the city's slaves—he promised them freedom and marriage to their masters' wives if they helped bring about the fall of the city—were indignantly rejected by the women of Chios. As Plutarch reports: "The women's anger was fierce and terrible. Joining forces with the slaves . . . they proceeded to mount the walls, carrying supplies of stones and missiles" (Δεινὸν δ' αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄγριον θυμὸν λαβοῦσαι, μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν . . . ὥρμησαν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπι τὰ τείχη, καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη προσφέρουσαι, Plut. *Mor.* 245b, trans. Russell 1993). In his treatise *On the Bravery of Women*, Plutarch cites other examples of female courage, notably the offer of the Phocian women to give up their lives if their army was defeated by the Thessalians. Fortunately for them, the Phocian men were victorious (Plut. *Mor.* 244b–d).

Warrior Women and Heroines

Artemisia, who became ruler of Halicarnassus and several neighboring island cities after her husband's death, is probably the most memorable figure of this kind to be found in all of Greek history. As a Persian subject, she had influence with King Xerxes and took part in the invasion of Greece, bringing five warships. Herodotus reports the action that made her famous: finding herself threatened by Greek ships at the battle of Salamis and hemmed in by her allies' ships, she had no hesitation in ramming a vessel on her own side. The Greeks therefore

assumed she was part of their forces and did not challenge her withdrawal from the battle. Xerxes, who was watching from the shore, thought Artemisia had attacked a Greek ship, so her maneuver won her praise from the king (Hdt. 7.99, 8.87–8).[5] Another famous female warrior was Teuta, regent of the kingdom of Illyria, who first launched pirate vessels, and then a whole fleet, onto the seas. Her aggressive policy was at the root of the First Illyrian War, which led to Roman intervention along the Dalmatian coastline (Polyb. 2.4.8).[6]

The achievements of Telesilla, an Argive poetess from a noble family, are no less remarkable. After the defeat and death of many Argive men who had fallen fighting the Spartans under the command of King Cleomenes, she inspired the women to make a stand on the city wall, thus repelling the enemy assault. The women also overcame Demaratus, the other enemy king, who had managed to enter the city. This episode is reported by Plutarch and Polyaenus, but Herodotus does not mention it in his account of the battle of Sepeia between the Spartans and the Argives (Hdt. 6.76, 78–80; Plut. *Mor.* 223b–d, 245b–c; Polyaenus *Strat*. 8.33; Paus. 2.20.8). As a result, there has been some doubt as to whether this event actually occurred, just as there has been in the case of another heroic deed performed by the Spartan women, this time against the Messenians. The Spartan army was engaged in battle with them when a detachment of Messenians assembled in front of the city, which had no defenders. The women armed themselves and repelled the enemy. Meanwhile, Spartan soldiers arrived and, believing that their own wives and daughters in armor were Messenians, prepared to fight them until the women removed their armor. Lactantius, who is our source for this story, reports that another encounter then ensued, this time of a romantic kind (Lactant. *Div. inst*. 1.20.29–32). A third account has Spartan soldiers fighting the women of Tegea. The outcome of a battle between the Spartans and the Tegeans was still undecided when the Tegean women, led by Marpessa (or, according to other sources, Choiro) armed themselves. These reinforcements won the battle for the Tegeans, who took many prisoners, including the king of Sparta. Only the Tegean women, not the men, marked the victory with a celebration in Ares's honor (Paus. 8.48.4–5).[7]

Other attacks and sieges, while not involving women directly in battles, still gave them the opportunity to demonstrate their valor. During the siege of Sinope, there were not enough men to defend the town, so the most physically fit women were singled out, given bronze utensils, and made to march up and down the sections of the ramparts that were farthest from the besiegers and least visible to them, thus making it look as if the walls were guarded. Aeneas Tacticus adds: "They were not allowed to throw anything, [however]: a woman is recog-

nizable a long way off by the way she throws" (Βάλλειν [δὲ] οὐκ εἴων αὐτάς· πόρρωθεν γὰρ κατάδηλος βάλλουσα γυνή, Tac. 40.5, trans. Whitehead 1990). The same author reports the trick to which Pisistratus resorted in order to oppose the Megarians, when he had women board the Athenian boats (Tac. 4.8–11).

Real Life: Sometimes a Different Story

These accounts that tell of female glory are countered by a reality that was rather different. Plutarch reports that the invasion of Laconia by the Theban army after the battle of Leuctra (371 BCE) roused great fear in Sparta, as it was the first invasion of the region since the Dorians' arrival (Plut. *Ages*. 31.3). The magistrates went so far as to promise freedom to those helots who agreed to enlist in the force defending the city. According to Xenophon, the Thebans set fire to houses on the banks of the Eurotas (Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.27–8), and "the very sight of the smoke seemed unendurable to the women, who had never seen an enemy in their lives" (οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὁρῶσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους, Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.28, trans. Warner 1966). Plutarch adds that Agesilaus "was equally distracted by the commotion within the city caused by the shrieking and running to and fro of the noncombatants, the old men who were aggrieved and indignant at what had happened, and the women who could not keep quiet and were beside themselves when they heard the battle-cries and saw the camp fires of the enemy" (οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τούτων ἐλύπουν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν θόρυβοι καὶ κραυγαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων δυσανασχετούντων τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ δυναμενῶν ἡσυχάζειν ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἐκφρόνων οὐσῶν πρός τε τὴν κραυγὴν καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν πολεμίων, Plut. *Ages*. 31.5, trans. Scott-Kilvert 1973). Aristotle follows this tradition in his observation that "in the matter of courage, which is useless in all life's ordinary affairs and only of use, if it has a use, in time of war, the women of Sparta have had a most mischievous influence. They showed this during the Theban invasion; unlike the women of other cities, they were of no use whatever, and caused more confusion than the enemy" (πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, βλαβερώταται καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' αἱ τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν. Ἐδήλωσαν δ'ἐπὶ τῆς Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς· χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρεῖχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων, Arist. *Pol*. 2.9.9–10, trans. Barker, revised by Stalley 1995). Plato's views are scarcely more favorable: women take "no part in the things of war" (τῶν δ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μὴ κοινωνούσας, Plat. *Laws* 7.806a, trans. Pangle 1980), and he adds that, in the very unlikely event of women being compelled to fight to defend their city and their children, they would be wholly incapable of giving

the enemy any trouble (Plat. *Laws* 7.806a–b, trans. R. G. Bury 1926). Nevertheless, the philosopher advises that young girls be trained to fight. During a siege, mothers ought to be able to make a mass excursus from the city and fight outside the walls, not to mention form a force to guard the children and the city (Plat. *Laws* 7.813e–814a). In the *Republic*, Plato also recommends that women receive military training (Plat. *Rep*. 5.452a, 456a).

Women's Moral and Logistical Support

Women were portrayed as offering moral support in defense of their homeland. Many "warrior's departure" scenes are found in vase paintings, which depict women bidding farewell to citizen-soldiers as they leave for war (fig. 10.3). Generally a woman (the soldier's wife, or perhaps his mother) and a man (probably his father) flank a young man, their husband and son, as he puts on hoplite armor. The empathic presence of the warrior's wife and/or parent(s) is echoed in the outlook attributed to mothers and wives, who were supposed to accept their son's or husband's death with equanimity. This heroic attitude finds expression in the Spartan aphorisms recorded by Plutarch. According to one of the most famous, when a Spartan mother handed her son his shield, she supposedly said: "Either with it, or on it" (ἢ ταύταν ἢ ἐπὶ ταύτας, Plut. *Mor.* 241–2, trans. Russell 1993).[8]

Several examples of women acting in a patriotic or courageous manner have been preserved in Greek history. In 480 BCE, in the darkest hour of the Persian invasion, the Athenian women actually stoned the wife and children of Lycidas, who was thought to be a traitor to his homeland, or at least to be in the Persian king's pay, because Lycidas had expressed the opinion that it would be better to look favorably on Mardonius's proposals rather than offer all-out resistance (Hdt. 9.5).[9]

In emergencies, women often voluntarily provided support services, although sometimes they were compelled to take part. Thus, when the Argives decided to build long walls down to the sea to protect their city against Sparta, the whole population participated, including the women and slaves (Thuc. 5.82.6). This example is not unique: during the invasion of Laconia by Pyrrhus and his troops, the Spartans decided to dig a ditch and construct a barricade along the side of the enemy camp. As the work was starting, Plutarch notes, "the women arrived on the scene, some of them in their robes with their tunics knotted round the waist, others dressed only in their tunics, and all joined in to help the older men" (ἦκον αὐτοῖς τῶν παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν αἱ μὲν ἐν ἱματίοις καταζωσάμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, αἱ δὲ μονοχίτωνες, συνεργασόμεναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, Plut.

Figure 10.3. Warrior departure. Red-figure belly amphora by the Kleophrades painter. Vulci, about 500–490 BCE. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen. Drawn from Pfuhl 1923, 3: 111, pl. 373.

Pyrrh. 27.6, trans. Scott-Kilvert 1973). Women often made other practical contributions to the war effort. After the Thebans' failed surprise attack on Plataea, Thucydides reports an action taken as a safety precaution: "The Plataeans had before sent off their wives and children and oldest men and the mass of the noncombatants to Athens; so that the number of the besieged left in the place comprised four hundred of their own citizens, eighty Athenians, and a hundred and ten women to bake their bread" (Πλαταιῆς δὲ παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἀχρεῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι τετρακόσιοι, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα, γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σιτοποιοί, Thuc. 2.78.3, trans. Crawley, revised by Lateiner 2006). During the Carthaginian siege of Selinus, the women and young girls brought food and arrows to the defenders at their posts on the ramparts (Diod. 13.55.4). Plutarch describes how, when the Achaeans were rearming under Philopoemen's leadership, helmets were made, which women fitted with multicolored crests (Plut. *Phil*. 9.9).

In the Hellenistic period, with the invention of various torsion artillery weapons, especially catapults, women began to play a crucial role. These machines

required flexible, elastic components that created enough release to allow heavy arrows and blocks of stone to be thrown a long way. A number of materials were used for this: animal tendons, horsehair, and, according to Hero of Alexandria, author of a *Treatise on Ranged Weapons* (βελοποιϊκά), women's hair: "The spring-cord on the arms can also be made of women's hair; being slender, long, and well nourished with oil, it gains much power when plaited so that it compares well with the power obtained through sinews" (Ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγκῶσι τόνος καὶ ἐκ τριχῶν γίνεται γυναικείων· αὗται γὰρ λεπταί τε οὖσαι καὶ μακραὶ καὶ πολλῷ ἐλαίῳ τραφεῖσαι, ὅταν πλακῶσιν, εὐτονίαν πολλὴν λαμβάνουσιν, ὥστε μὴ ἀπᾴδειν τῆς διὰ τῶν νεύρων ἰσχύος, Hero, *Bel*. 112, trans. Marsden 1971). Polybius reports that when the Sinopeans were under siege from Mithridates II circa 250 BCE, at their request the Rhodians sent them 300 talents (almost eight tons) of hair and 100 talents (almost two tons) of animal tendons (Polyb. 4.56.3).[10] Carthage possessed at least two thousand catapults (Polyb. 36.6.1–7). When that city was besieged by the Romans, the inhabitants made frenzied efforts to arm themselves, and the women donated their hair to be used in artillery weapons (App. *Pun*. 93).

Women within Armies

Between the eighth century BCE and the time of Alexander, soldiers from Greek cities rarely departed on long campaigns, and armies travelled as lightly equipped as possible. The situation was different, however, in the case of lengthy expeditions to distant places. These soldiers, far away from their homeland and family, created new households in the places where they were, with women and, sometimes, their children. Portrayals of the Trojan War, in this respect, depict a situation that still existed in the armies of Alexander and his successors.[11] The frequent occurrence in the *Iliad* of terms that designate female slaves (δμωαί) is sufficient to confirm this.[12] Achilles and Agamemnon had Briseis and Chryseis, who had been captured in operations prior to the siege of Troy, by their sides. The Greek camp outside Troy included many women, who were the heroes' servants and concubines. The men had become attached to them, as Achilles's anger showed when he had to give up Briseis to Agamemnon.

The supply train and baggage (ἀποσκευή) that accompanied the armies of Alexander's immediate successors could significantly affect the outcome of battles. Indeed, for the men the wagons became a real home away from home and contained their wives, children, and possessions. "L'attachement des soldats à leur famille et à leurs biens est parfois funeste à leurs chefs," writes Marcel

Launey.[13] Sometimes, victorious soldiers changed sides if their defeated enemies managed to get hold of the winners' baggage.

This trend is found from the beginning of the fourth century onward, with the Ten Thousand. After the turning point—the battle of Cunaxa—the expeditionary force became encumbered with noncombatants, pages, and male and female concubines. The commanders made efforts to divest the army of this burden, which they deemed unnecessary. Yet Xenophon nicely shows the soldiers trying to conceal a boy, or a woman, when checks were made (Xen. *An.* 4.1.10–5). Moreover, the presence of women had already been mentioned before the decisive battle (Xen. *An.* 3.2.25). They are referred to repeatedly during the long march that brings the army to the shores of the Black Sea, and they accompanied their men until the expedition's end (Xen. *An.* 4.8.27; 5.4.33). The women offered them encouragement during a difficult river crossing (Xen. *An.* 4.3.18–9). They also saw to logistical matters, prepared food, and entertained the troops; a dancing-girl was especially good at this (Xen. *An.* 6.1.11–3).[14]

Army professionalization is an important characteristic of the military history of the Hellenistic period. Troop commanders, cities, and kingdoms had to pay heed to what today would be called the "social demands" of their mercenaries. Concubines were at the center of these claims. In order to counteract the danger posed by the presence of women and children in the supply trains of their armies, the Hellenistic rulers, especially the Lagids, endeavored to provide for their soldiers' futures by granting them homes and lands.

A concluding example comes from Alexander's campaign in northern India. He had clashed with some local mercenaries and decided to attack them. The mutineers arranged themselves in a circular formation, with their wives and children in the middle. Once the first ranks had been overpowered, "the women caught up the weapons of the fallen and fought beside their men . . . Some of them, clad in armour, sheltered behind the same shields as their husbands, while others rushed in without armour, grasped the opposing shields and hindered their use by the enemy. Finally, fighting women and all, they were overborne by numbers and cut down, winning a glorious death in preference to basely saving their lives at any cost" (αἱ γυναῖκες τὰ τῶν πεσόντων ὅπλα λαμβάνουσαι συνηγωνίζοντο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν . . . διὸ καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν καθοπλισθεῖσαι συνήσπιζον τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσι, τινὲς δὲ ἄνευ ὅπλων ἐμπίπτουσαι τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνεπόδιζον. Τέλος δὲ πάντες ἀγωνισάμενοι καὶ κατακοπέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τὸν ἔνδοξον θάνατον τῆς ἀγεννοῦς φιλοζωίας ἠλλάξαντο, Diod. Sic. 17.84.5–6, trans. Welles 1963).

Figure 10.4. Scene of the sack of Troy. Greek clay-relief storage vessel, about 670–650 BCE. Mykonos. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archaölogisches Institut, Athens.

Women as Victims of War

After the capture of Babylon, Xenophon makes his hero Cyrus state a generalization: "It is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants thereof belong to the captors" (νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀίδιός ἐστιν, ὅταν πολεμούντων πόλις ἁλῷ, τῶν ἑλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα, Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.73, trans. W. Miller 1914). This rule was applied many times in the course of Greek history, starting with the capture of Troy. Despite its legendary status, the town's fall has been depicted by historians and tragedians from ancient times to the present day, with a particular focus on the defenders' deaths and the enslavement of the Trojan women (figs. 10.4–10.6). There are countless texts and images portraying the Trojans' misfortunes and the Greeks' brutality, to the point where the facts seem to have acquired a rather abstract quality. This is perhaps due to their mythical/legendary character, their remoteness in time, and the retelling that they have undergone in literature, from Euripides to Racine to Giraudoux.

In his portrayal of Selinus's capture by the Carthaginians in 409 BCE, the historian Diodorus Siculus reports that the victors spared no man. The women,

Figure 10.5. Scene of the sack of Troy. Greek clay-relief storage vessel, about 670–650 BCE. Mykonos. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archaölogisches Institut, Athens.

Figure 10.6. The sack of Troy. The rape of Cassandra. Attic red-figure hydria by the Kleophrades painter, about 490–480 BCE. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Drawn from Pfuhl 1923, 3: 114, pl. 379.

for their part, endured "terrible indignities, and some were obliged to see their daughters of marriageable age suffering treatment improper for their years" (δεινὰς ταλαιπωρίας· ὧν ἔνιαι θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους ὁρᾶν ἠναγκάζοντο πασχούσας οὐκ οἰκεῖα τῆς ἡλικίας, Diod. Sic. 13.58.1, trans. Oldfather 1950). In that same year, the Carthaginians seized Himera. Their commander-in-chief, Hannibal, had all the captured soldiers killed and shared out the women and children among his men (Diod. Sic. 13.62.3). An understanding of the real import of the threat hanging over the defeated in the event their city was captured by force is enhanced by an example from more recent history. In July 1995, the small Bosnian town of Srebrenica fell into the hands of the army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The women and children were forced to leave by bus; the lives of most were spared. The men between ages fifteen and sixty-five left on foot or were loaded into lorries; an unknown number, thought to be several thousand, were machine gunned in cold blood.

What follows is a summary of what I have shown in greater detail elsewhere with regard to the defenders and inhabitants of a city in Greece during the classical period.[15] I dwell here especially on what happened to women in cities and fortified places under siege. From the beginning of the eighth century BCE, and certainly from the seventh century onward, the Greeks were constantly fortifying towns, and even the villages in which they lived.[16]

Sylvian Fachard's recent research in the Eretriad (the territory of the city of Eretria) has brought to light many forts, outposts, and strongholds of different sizes. Until very recently, the function of these military constructions was not understood, any more than that of the forts and strongholds in neighboring Attica. In an important study published in 2012, Fachard shows that the primary function of these structures was not to defend territory, but rather to serve as refuges for the civilian population of the countryside.[17] These fortified compounds, farmhouses with a tower, outposts, and even strongholds were dotted throughout the countryside at set intervals, ensuring that they could be quickly reached by men, women, and herds within the vicinity if a threat from enemies, pirates, pillagers, or invaders materialized. Constructions of this kind can be found in the territory of many Greek cities but have not yet been studied in detail. The inner fortification walls of large towns like Messene, Plevron, Eretria, Assos, Ephesus, Priene, Heraclea under Latmos, and others have long been known, especially since their curtain walls, gates, and towers are well preserved and can be clearly seen in the field. Many more compounds and fortifications, however, have not left significant traces in the countryside. Some are only known from texts.

The extensive efforts that the Greeks made to defend themselves had one purpose alone: to prevent the population of a town, especially the women and children, from falling into the hands of an attacker. I have mentioned elsewhere the "dialectic of defense," according to which fortifications were more a means of deterring the enemy from attempting an attack than insurance against all possible dangers. Actually, if there was a siege, it was possible—if not probable—that the town would fall, either at the end of a lengthy blockade or more quickly, by assault. With the development of the art of siege warfare from the fourth century BCE onward, walls provided much less protection, even though construction techniques improved. Consider the particularly unfortunate example of the city of Eretria. From the archaic period on, it was surrounded by a city wall, but it was captured four times in 400 years: by the Persians in 490 BCE (Hdt. 6.101) as the result of a betrayal; by the Macedonians in 268/7 BCE (Diog. Laert. 2.127); and finally by the Romans, in 198 BCE (Livy 32.16.10–17) and again in 86 BCE during Sulla's campaign in Euboea.

One hundred city sieges occurring between 700 BCE and the death of Alexander have been identified.[18] Of these, twenty-five concluded with the massacre of the defenders and the population's enslavement, thirty-four with the population's enslavement without a massacre, and forty-one with surrender. This shows that it was better for a city not to persevere with its defense, since an assault could have vastly more serious consequences for the population than military capitulation and surrender. The least favorable outcome for the defenders and inhabitants of a city or other site was for it to be taken by force, following a successful assault. In that case the assailants showed no mercy, killing the soldiers and reducing the women and children to slavery. Capitulation after negotiations was much to be preferred, even if the defeated were often treated in a very cruel manner. The terms of surrender usually stipulated that the inhabitants should exit the place, leaving behind their homes and possessions and taking with them only what was strictly necessary.

Circumstances, however, sometimes required preventative action or measures protecting public safety to be taken that were separate from defense as such. Several examples can be listed of the evacuation of women and children when the enemy's approach was imminent. In 480 BCE, the Delphians sent their women and children to Achaia when the Persians' arrival was announced (Hdt. 8.36.2). In the same way, and for the same reason, the Athenians had their children and slaves—and probably their women as well, although Herodotus does not mention it—go to Troezen, Aegina, and Salamis (Hdt. 8.41). Fearing the Theban response after the events of 431 BCE, the Plataeans and Athenians

conveyed the men incapable of fighting and the women and children to Athens (Thuc. 2.6.4). After the cities of Mende and Scione defected, Brasidas, afraid of how the Athenian forces would react, had the women and children evacuated to Olynthus (Thuc. 4.123.4). When the Agrigentines were threatened by the Carthaginians, they initially sent their women and children to Gela (Diod. Sic. 13.89.1–3) and, in the face of the danger that the Carthaginians posed, subsequently moved them farther away, to Syracuse; some even went to the Italian mainland (Diod. Sic. 13.91.1).

Once the enemy was at a town's gates, the situation became extremely tense and was presumably nerve-wracking for the besieged. Alongside the literary texts recounting the fall of Troy and the treatment inflicted on its women and children, there are vases depicting the acts of violence of which they were the victims. The inset illustrations adorning the sides of the relief amphora from Mykonos provide the most vivid representations of the brutal fate reserved by the Greeks for the Trojan women and children. It could not be clearer that here is a reference to the capture of Troy, since on the amphora's neck there is an illustration of a horse on casters, filled with Greek warriors.[19]

To return to what happened in the end to Scione and Mende, Scione was captured by assault after a long siege, despite the Spartans' support. The men of fighting age were executed, and the women and children reduced to slavery (Thuc. 5.32.1). A little while earlier, the Athenians had seized Mende and left it open to pillaging—without slaughtering its defenders, however (Thuc. 4.130.6–7). In a third military operation in the region, they took Torone and made slaves of the women and children. The surviving defenders were sent to Athens and subsequently freed (Thuc. 5.3.2–4). In his *History*, Thucydides singles out the fate of Melos, where the defenders were put to death and the women and children enslaved (Thuc. 5.116). Further examples could be cited in subsequent centuries, especially with the addition of towns and strongholds that were captured and had their populations treated similarly. The tragic end of the small city of Lyttos, in Crete, around 220 BCE is often recalled. It was overrun in the absence of its defenders, and its population immediately deported. When the men returned from a military expedition, they found their city empty of its inhabitants (Polyb. 4.53.3–54). The fate of the city of Abydos, captured by Philip V of Macedon, was no less tragic. Its defeated inhabitants cut the throats of their wives and children before committing suicide (Polyb. 16.34.9–11).

Nonetheless, a town's destruction and the reduction of its women and children to slavery were not always irreversible. A number of instances can be listed in which the survivors, despite what happened, were resettled in their homes

some years later. This was probably the case for Mende and Scione, from which the women and children had been evacuated to Olynthus by Brasidas, and also for Aegina and Melos. The literary sources imply that these towns were repopulated and thus restored to life, despite their destruction.[20] In the case of Eretria, archaeological excavations provide evidence both for the several occasions on which the city was destroyed and for its astonishing capacity to regenerate, since buildings and renewed activity are attested in the Roman imperial period.[21]

The number of cities that surrendered in accordance with an agreement shows both how a network of battlements in good condition could be useful, and what its limitations were. No less than circa fifteen surrenders under an agreement are attested to in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE alone.[22] Thucydides specifies the terms of this kind of capitulation in the case of Potidaea: "a free passage out for themselves, their children, wives, and auxiliaries, with one garment apiece, the women with two, and a fixed sum of money for their journey" (ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὖν ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν ἑνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δυοῖν, καὶ ἀργύριόν τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφόδιον, Thuc. 2.70.3, trans. Crawley, revised by Lateiner 2006). Thucydides also compares the defeat of the Athenian expeditionary force sent to Sicily and the fate of the vanquished with that of a town's inhabitants after its surrender: "for indeed they looked like nothing else than a city in secret flight after a siege, and that no small city" (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ πόλει ἐκπεπολιορκημένῃ ἐῴκεσαν ὑποφευγούσῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐ σμικρᾷ, Thuc. 7.75.5, trans. Forster Smith 1923). In the face of these great misfortunes, acts of solidarity between Greek cities—and between citizens—sometimes offered a degree of comfort. In 480 BCE, the Troezenians generously welcomed the Athenian women and children who sought refuge with them. In the same way, the Athenians took in the Plataeans between 429 and 427 BCE. The comic actor Satyros successfully interceded with Philip II of Macedon to win freedom for the daughters of Apollophanes of Pydna after they had been imprisoned and enslaved by the king at Olynthus. Demosthenes compares Satyros's noble, brave action with the disgraceful attitude of the members of the Athenian embassy, who manhandled another female prisoner from Olynthus at a banquet (Dem. *Amb.* 19.192–8).

In a decree, the Elataeans formally thanked the citizens of Stymphalos for housing them after their town was captured by the Romans in 198 BCE.[23] From the fourth century onward, quite a number of cities voted decrees to express their gratitude to citizens who had saved prisoners captured by enemies or pirates. The best known comes from the small town of Aegiale, on the island of Amorgos. It commemorates how Hegesippos and Antipappos rescued individuals who had

been kidnapped by pirates, including young girls, women, and slaves, and then helped them return home. Another inscription commemorates the name of Timessa, a woman from the town of Arkesine (again on Amorgos) who also made great efforts to save citizens.[24]

Conclusion

Military history has a preference for recalling heroic episodes, battles, and feats performed by heroes, while it leaves women in the role of subordinates—or, worse, victims. The conflicts of the end of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, with all their famines, rapes, and deaths, illustrate an aspect of ancient and modern wars that is generally hidden. Nevertheless, in the history of Greek warfare, it is also possible to recall glorious chapters and deeds that, for all that they are sometimes mythical or legendary, assign a prominent role to both divine and mortal women. Nor should the essential part that women play in the smooth running of societies and the armies that come from them be forgotten, even if it is sometimes left out or passed over in silence.

NOTES

1. Aristophanes *Lys*. 520–2: {ΛΥ.} "πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει." / {ΠΡ.} 'Ορθῶς γε λέγων νὴ Δί' ἐκεῖνος. {ΛΥ.} Πῶς ὀρθῶς, ὦ κακόδαιμον, / εἰ μηδὲ κακῶς βουλευομένοις ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ὑποθέσθαι (trans. Henderson 2000). Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations of the Greek texts are taken from the Loeb Classical Library.

2. In Sabin et al. 2007, there is no chapter expressly dedicated to this topic. In the index under "Woman," however, the reader is directed to a quite a large number of passages that discuss women and war. Chaniotis 2005 is the first scholar who actually includes a whole chapter on "The Gender of War: Masculine Warriors, Defenseless Women, and Beyond." Schaps 1982 is the only article specifically to treat the subject. I shall return later to Graf 1984, along with the comments of Ducat 1999 and Napolitano 1987.

3. For a different perspective, see Payen (chapter 12).

4. Schaps 1982: 195 may be correct: "The military value of tile-throwing women cannot have been great." Still, what he says is rather ironic, since it was a tile—thrown by a woman, no less—that put an end to the achievements and life of one of the Hellenistic period's greatest generals.

5. See Sebillotte Cuchet's discussion of Artemisia (chapter 13).

6. For other warrior queens, see Sebillotte Cuchet (chapter 13). See also Pillonel 2008.

7. For these three episodes and how they may be interpreted, see Graf 1984; Napolitano 1987.

8. To flee and abandon one's shield was a sign of cowardice, and from this aphorism we also learn that corpses could be transported on shields. See Ducat 1999.

9. On Lycidas, see Queyrel Bottineau 2010.

10. See Walbank 1957, ad loc.: 512. On siege-engines, see Marsden 1969, 1971. See also Tarn 1930: 114–5.

11. See Nappi (chapter 2).

12. See Ducrey 1999: 2–16.

13. Launey 1987: 787: "The soldiers' attachment to their families and possessions sometimes had dire consequences for their leaders." See also Holleaux 1942.

14. See J. Lee 2007.

15. Ducrey 1999.

16. On this subject, see Frederiksen 2011.

17. Fachard 2012. Fachard revises the theory developed in Ober 1985, which is now outdated.

18. See Ducrey 1999: xv. Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1363–4 discuss part of the evidence for these statistics. To arrive at the number 100 and the statistics presented here, I have conducted a systematic analysis of the textual sources from the archaic period (seventh century BCE) to the end of the Hellenistic period (second century BCE), with information thus coming from the Greek world at its farthest extent. Even if the total number thus arrived at and the diverse categories of evidence are arbitrary and approximate, they nonetheless reflect historical reality.

19. See Ducrey 1999, pl. 13–15; Woodford 1993: 102–6.

20. For Aegina and Melos, see Xenophon *Hell.* 2.2.9; Plutarch *Lys.* 14.4.

21. Between 1998 and 2000, a Sebasteion (temple of the imperial cult), built at the end of the first century BCE and probably used for several centuries, was uncovered, as well as several structures for handicrafts and industry. In 2010–2012, the excavation of baths from the imperial period took place. See the excavation reports published each year in the journal *Antike Kunst* by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece on its work in Eretria.

22. See Ducrey 1986: 133–42.

23. See Ducrey 1999: 144.

24. Bielman 1994: 141–7.

To Act, Not Submit

Women's Attitudes in Situations of War in Ancient Greece

STELLA GEORGOUDI

There are certain phrases or expressions that, uttered in the setting of a more or less general inquiry, over time become used as proofs, often detached from their contexts and repeated as a kind of obligatory preamble to discourses concerning Greek women. Thus, the oft-cited phrase, "marriage is to a girl what war is to a boy," has become one of several well-worn aphorisms.[1] Let me stipulate at the outset that this proposition, thus formulated, is not intrinsically false. The problem, however, with these kinds of enunciations is that they tend to be reductive; they simplify, often excessively, a "reality" that is quite complex, either when it is conceived by modern scholars as composed of established historical facts or, alternatively, as representations of these facts.

As Pascal Payen has notably observed, in the past thirty years, two broad trends may be discerned in the context of the problems entailed in analyzing relations between the sexes in ancient Greece. On the one hand, there is a tendency that seeks to show that "masculine politics and citizenship . . . constituted itself on the basis of the separation and exclusion of the feminine."[2] On the other hand, there is a tendency to define citizenship less restrictively, so as to explore all of the ways in which women participated in the life of Greek cities, and to consider all indications, from a diverse group of cultural spheres, of how women's activities were variously integrated into the spaces of civic life. In exploring the spectrum of evidence embraced by this second tendency, I find it to be by far the more fruitful approach. For it allows scholars to investigate diverse forms of female involvement in such domains as, for example, religion, a realm in which Greek women (or at least *some* women), far from being faint presences behind a father or a husband, would be treated as citizens during the performance of certain rituals.[3]

If this perspective is adopted, however, the Greek words πολῖτις or ἀστή cannot carry the single meaning of "woman/female child of a citizen, a πολίτης or

an ἀστός" as is sometimes maintained.[4] Thus, in reconsidering the roles of women in Greek societies, and thereby fully appreciating the interactions between the closed universe of "private houses" (οἶκοι) and public spaces, the full range of available testimony should be examined, whether literary, epigraphic, archaeological, or iconographic—a methodological approach that might seem obvious, were it not for the fact that such inclusiveness does not always characterize these inquiries.

Even so, my objective here is far more modest. In this chapter, I limit myself to exploring certain accounts in which women residing in Greek cities themselves engage either in events that are considered historical or in those defined as legendary (by the ancient authors). For, as Isocrates says, when turning to the bounties granted by the goddess Demeter to the city of Athens, "for even though the story [of the rape of Korê] has taken *the form of a myth*, yet it deserves to be told again" (καὶ γὰρ εἰ **μυθώδης** ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, ὅμως αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ῥηθῆναι προσήκει, Isoc. *Paneg.* [4].28). This same point is made by the Athenian orator Lycurgus, who argues that a narrative, even if it is to some degree legendary, must be told, because it will enlighten the young (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 95). But it is above all Strabo who put on display the power of myth and legendary tales: "Poets were not alone in sanctioning myths (μύθους), for long before the poets, states and lawgivers sanctioned them for the sake of their usefulness" (τοῦ χρησίμου χάριν, Strabo 1.2.8). For this reason, Strabo eulogizes poetry and singles out Homer, who showed, admirably and delightfully, how to blend certain elements of myth (μυθώδη τινά) with narratives that have both historical and didactic value (τοῖς λεγομένοις ἱστορικῶς καὶ διδασκαλικῶς). Moreover, Strabo continues, poetry, according to the views of the most authoritative writers who discussed it, is "a kind of first philosophy" (Strabo 1.1.10; see also πρώτην τινὰ . . . φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ποιητικήν, Strabo 1.2.3). One could thus say that—despite the opposition of some, like Thucydides, who brooked no compromise with any tale from the ranks of "myth" (contrary to Plutarch, for example)[5]—myths and legendary tales could contain a kernel of truth for the Greeks (and also for us) and therefore could constitute a "fact" of civilization, worthy of being taken into consideration.

In seeking to show the equality of the sexes in regard to "virtue" (ἀρετή),[6] Plutarch describes a series of "deeds worthy of mention" (ἄξια λόγου) that women had achieved "in common and privately" (κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, Plut. *De mul. uir.* 242F–243E). Plutarch begins with short accounts, presented as "examples" (παραδείγματα), selected from "the deeds, countless in number, done by *women acting together*" (τῶν μὲν οὖν *κοινῇ* πεπραγμένων γυναιξὶ μυρίων ὄντων ἱκανὰ

ταῦτα παραδείγματα, Plut. *De mul. uir.* 253E) and it is this *collective* aspect to which I call attention here, setting aside some memorable deeds attributed to individual women.[7]

Greek women are generally excluded from the ranks of warriors,[8] but they, too, suffer the consequences of combats, at times as human victims sacrificed on the altar of a deity to ensure an army's victory. Furthermore, as females are usually considered passive and fearful, on various occasions they are faulted for being unable to tolerate the clamor, cries, fire, and smoke produced during battle, precisely because of their "inexperience of war" (ἀηθείᾳ τε πολέμου, Paus. 4.21.9, concerning the women of Messene).[9] Some contemporary scholars appeal to a well-known passage in Aristotle's *Politics* supporting these claims. In his critique of Sparta's constitution and social system, Aristotle argues that in times of war, the Laconians' women were "very harmful" (βλαβερώταται), and "they demonstrated this at the time of the Theban invasion: for they were not at all useful as in other cities and caused more confusion [literally, "a confused noise," θόρυβον] than the enemy" (ἐδήλωσαν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς, χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρεῖχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων, Arist. *Pol.* 2.1269b, 35–9).[10]

The majority of translators of and commentators on Aristotle interpret this passage to mean that the women of Sparta behaved exactly *as did* women from other Greek cities, in that they were not only entirely useless, but were doing the greatest harm to their country when it was at war. For example, Jean Aubonnet translated χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν as "parfaitement inutiles comme dans les autres États" ("utterly useless, as in the other States"), and his translation has been generally adopted by others, without further comment.[11] Some, however, have expressed their doubts. Pierre Pellegrin, even as he provided a faithful translation of this sentence ("non seulement elles n'étaient d'aucune utilité contrairement aux femmes d'autres cités, mais . . . " ["not only were they of no use, *as opposed to* women in other cities, but . . . "]), seems to hesitate, inasmuch as he also provides the conventional translation in a footnote: "*comme* dans les autres cités elles [sc. les femmes spartiates] étaient inutiles" ("*as* in the other cities they [i.e., Spartan women] were useless").[12] Similarly, Trevor Saunders, in his commentary on this passage, remarks that the expression "as in other States" (ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν) is "formally ambiguous, but probably" means "that women in other states *were* useful, not that they were not."[13] It should be noted, however, that some specialists in Aristotle have long offered a correct translation.[14] Anton Powell understood, discussed, and interpreted this passage with evident fairness: namely, that the women of Sparta

proved themselves to be completely useless, unlike women in other Greek cities.[15] In expressing himself thusly, Aristotle no doubt further accentuates the existing divide, in his view, between Greek women in general, who were able to serve their city at war, and the Spartan women, who were "unregulated by law (ἀνομοθέτητον)," living in a kind of "license" (ἄνεσις), "dissolutely . . . and luxuriously" (ἀκολάστως . . . καὶ τρυφερῶς, Arist. *Pol.* 2. 1269b, 12–23).

According to Aristotle, women make up "half of the free population" (ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν ἐλευθέρων, Arist. *Pol.* 1.1260b, 18–20), and "it is clear that the state also is divided nearly in half into its male and female population" (δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ δίχα διῃρῆσθαι δεῖ νομίζειν εἵς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, Arist. *Pol.* 2.1269b, 15–17). Therefore, "in all constitutions in which the position of the women is badly regulated one half of the city must be regarded as unregulated by law" (ἐν ὅσαις πολιτείαις φαύλως ἔχει τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνομοθέτητον, Arist. *Pol.* 2.1269b, 17–19). Thus "the moral virtues" (ἠθικαὶ ἀρεταί) would be shared by all, says Aristotle, "but not in the same way, but in such measure as is proper to each in relation to his own function" (ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, Arist. *Pol.* 2.1260a, 14–17). This Aristotelian position is opposed to that maintained by Antisthenes, the Cynic philosopher, for whom "virtue is the same (ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετή) for men and women" (Diog. Laertius 6.12). These virtues of which Aristotle speaks, virtues that are shared equally by men and women, are not only σωφροσύνη ("temperance, prudence, wisdom") or δικαιοσύνη ("justice"), but equally ἀνδρεία ("courage"), which is manly courage.[16] As for the other virtues, ἀνδρεία is not the same for both sexes: ἀνδρεία of a man is ἀρχική, that is, the "courage of command," while ἀνδρεία of a woman is ὑπηρετική, that is, a courage that arises from service, an ἀνδρεία "of subordination" (Arist. *Pol.* 1.1260a, 22–24). Note that even if the Socrates of Xenophon's *Symposium* acknowledges that "woman's nature is really not a whit inferior to man's" (ἡ γυναικεία φύσις οὐδὲν χείρων τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὖσα τυγχάνει, Xen. *Symp.* 2.9), he will add, "except in its lack of judgment and physical strength (γνώμης δὲ καὶ ἰσχύος δεῖται)," which Xenophon will say more clearly in the *Oeconomicus*. Indeed, Xenophon's Ischomachos says that a woman's body, being less resistant, is less capable of enduring "cold and heat, and journeys and campaigns" (ῥίγη μὲν γὰρ καὶ θάλπη καὶ ὁδοιπορίας καὶ στρατείας, Xen. *Oec.* 7.23), which constitute tests that only the body and soul of a man are able to confront.

Some Greek narratives, however, contradict these affirmations by certain Greek philosophers or historians. I offer three examples relating to women's collective exploits, even though they may sometimes be inspired by individual

women who are especially worthy of praise. These stories, which are certainly known by Hellenists, have been interpreted by some modern scholars (even quite recently) in arguments that, in my view, pose problems.

The first narrative is about Argos.[17] When attacked by the Spartan king Cleomenes and his army, the Argives were said to have staved off the invaders until they (i.e., the Argives) were annihilated by the Lacedaemonians (Paus. 2.20.8–9). In the face of the men's defeat, the poetess Telesilla "mounted on the wall" of the city with "the household slaves" (οἰκέτας) and all those who, because of their youth or old age, could not bear arms (Τελέσιλλα δὲ οἰκέτας μὲν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητα ἢ γῆρας ὅπλα ἀδύνατοι φέρειν ἦσαν, τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, Paus. 2.20.9). She then collected the arms (ὅπλα) that had remained in individual houses, as well as those that were found in the temples, and she handed them out to all "the women who were in full bloom of age" (τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικίᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν, Paus. 2.20.9). Telesilla then exhorted them to throw themselves into the battle, defending their country by defeating its enemies. They "fought valiantly" (ἐρρωμένως), says Pausanias, forcefully, with ῥώμη, without being at all overcome with fear at "the battle cry" (ἀλαλαγμός) of the Lacedaemonians.

For Plutarch, energy and audacity, characterized as δαιμόνιος ("coming from a divine power," Plut. *De mul. uir.* 4.245C–E),[18] incited the women to repel the enemies. For not only did they drive back Cleomenes by inflicting great losses, but they also expelled the second king of Sparta, Demaratus, who had succeeded in occupying a district of Argos, the Pamphyliakon. With their country thus saved, "the women who fell in the battle they buried close by the Argive Road, and to the survivors they granted the privilege of erecting a statue [or a sanctuary, or an altar] of Enyalios,[19] as a *memorial of their surpassing valor*" (τὰς μὲν πεσούσας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀργείας ἔθαψαν, ταῖς δὲ σωθείσαις *ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἀριστείας* ἔδοσαν ἱδρύσασθαι τὸν Ἐνυάλιον, Plut. *De mul. uir.* 4.245E). Finally, according to Pausanias (2.20.8) and the *Suda* (s.v.), Telesilla herself was represented on a stele, standing before the ἔδος (the temple, or the cult statue, of Aphrodite) in the shrine of the goddess located in the city of Argos, near the place where the Assembly of the People convened. The stele (not the statue, as it is sometimes stated) represented Telesilla with the helmet she would wear held in her hand and books discarded at her feet. Although these books were a gesture to Telesilla as a poet, she was primarily honored as the woman who took charge of the heroic defense of the city.

The second, shorter story concerns the desperate resistance of the Messenians, besieged by the Spartans during what is known as the second Messenian war,

which is dated approximately to the seventh century BCE. Finding themselves in total despair, says Pausanias, the Messenians flung themselves against the Spartans. In this hopeless situation, "women too were eager to fling tiles and what they could upon the enemy, yet the violence of the rain prevented them from doing this and from mounting to the housetops. But *they dared to take arms*, and they too further inflamed the ardor of the men, when they saw their women preferring to perish with their fatherland rather than be taken as slaves to Lacedaemon" (ὥρμησαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ ὅτῳ δύναιτο ἑκάστη τοὺς πολεμίους βάλλειν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μὴ δρᾶσαι σφᾶς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῶν τεγῶν τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον ἐπεκώλυε· *λαβεῖν δὲ ὅπλα ἐτόλμησαν* καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ πλέον αὗται τὴν τόλμαν ἐξῆψαν, ὁπότε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἑώρων προτιμώσας συναπολέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι ἢ ἀχθῆναι δούλας ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, Paus. 4.21.6).[20]

Finally, the third story is not only more elaborate than the previous one, but it also has certain elements that have given rise to theories that are, in my view, problematic. The starting point is an effigy of Ares, carved on a stele, that Pausanias saw in the agora of Tegea in Arcadia, adding that the god is named Γυναικοθοίνας. This cult epithet originates, Pausanias recounts, "at the time of the Laconian war, when Charillus king of Lacedaemon made the first invasion" (ὑπὸ γὰρ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον καὶ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τὴν πρώτην ἐπιστρατείαν, Paus. 8.48.4) against the Tegeans. To confront the enemy, "the women armed themselves and lay in ambush under the hill they call today *Phulaktris* [Sentry Hill]" (λαβοῦσαι αἱ γυναῖκές σφισιν ὅπλα ἐλόχων ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον ὃν Φυλακτρίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὀνομάζουσι), and while battle was raging between the two armies, "the women, they say, came on the scene and put the Lacedaemonians to flight" (οὕτω φασὶν ἐπιφανῆναί σφισι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ εἶναι τὰς ἐργασαμένας ταύτας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν τροπήν, Paus. 8.48.4–6). Among the combatants, it was above all Marpessa, named Χοίρα ("Sow"),[21] who "surpassed, they say, the other women *in daring*" (ὑπερβαλέσθαι *τῇ τόλμῃ* τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας, Paus. 8.48.5). After the defeat of the Spartans, Pausanias continues, they say "that the women offered to Ares a sacrifice of victory, on their own account, without the men, and gave to the men no share in the meat of the victim" (τὰς γυναῖκας δὲ τῷ Ἄρει θῦσαί τε ἄνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ τοῦ ἱερείου τῶν κρεῶν οὐ μεταδοῦναι σφᾶς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, Paus. 8.48.5). Thus is explained, Pausanias concludes, the epithet of Γυναικοθοίνας given to Ares (discussed further below). Marpessa did not have her effigy erected at Tegea, as Telesilla had her own at Argos, but Marpessa's weapon (ὅπλον), which was in plain sight in the famous temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, was among the most prominent offerings displayed in this sanctuary (8.47.2–3).[22]

These kinds of accounts, in which women take up arms and fight their countries' enemies, could be associated with a series of stories about different forms of female engagement in the domain of war. In some cases, women participated in the construction of the ramparts: in Athens, they were engaged in the hasty reconstruction of the walls by Themistocles, after the departure of the Persians (Thuc. 1.90.3); in Argos, at the height of the Peloponnesian War, the δῆμος, "fearing the Lacedaemonians and again courting the alliance of the Athenians [. . .] proceeded to build long walls down to the sea [. . .] The whole Argive people, men, women, and household slaves (οἰκέται) set to work upon the walls" (φοβούμενος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν πάλιν προσαγόμενός τε [. . .] τειχίζει μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν [. . .] Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι πανδημεί, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἰκέται, ἐτείχιζον, Thuc. 5.82.5–6; see also note 45 below).

Elsewhere, females, whether or not arrayed on rooftops, primarily threw stones and tiles at the enemy, an image that recurs often as a leitmotif in the discourse of modern scholars writing about women. One example is women in the city of Plataea, an ally of the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War. This city was occupied by the Thebans, who were allies of the Lacedaemonians. When the Plataeans took action by attacking the enemy at night, "at the same time the women and slaves on the housetops, uttering screams and yells, kept pelting them [the Thebans] with stones and tiles" (καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρωμένων λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ βαλλόντων, Thuc. 2.4.2), so as to spread panic among the Thebans in the darkness and the mud (brought about by a strong rain). Tiles were also given a place of honor on the island of Corcyra. In this case, a civil war erupted during the summer of 427 BCE between oligarchs (supporters of Lacedaemonia) and democrats (supporters of Athens). Women, siding with the "people" (δῆμος), "took part in the fight, hurling tiles from the houses" (αἵ τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κεράμῳ) against the oligarchs, "and enduring the uproar with courage *beyond their nature*" (καὶ *παρὰ φύσιν* ὑπομένουσαι τὸν θόρυβον, Thuc. 3.73–4).[23]

Finally, despite the accusations of Aristotle, who was opposed to the women of Sparta, whom he saw as living "dissolutely . . . and luxuriously," the Spartan women cannot be left out of accounts extolling deeds of female bravery. The story in question takes place at the moment when Pyrrhus (319–272 BCE) and his army arrived before Sparta (272 BCE) and camped in the open air. In the face of this imminent danger, the Lacedaemonians "took counsel to send their women off to Crete" (ἐβουλεύσαντο τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς Κρήτην ἀποστέλλειν, Plut. *Pyrrh*.

27.4). But the women, led by Archidamia (grandmother of King Agis IV, ca. 262–241 BCE), opposed this plan and ended up joining the men to dig a ditch parallel to the enemy camp in which they buried carts up to the middle of their wheels, thus creating an insurmountable barrier to the passage of the enemy.[24]

By returning to these stories, which are well known to specialists, my purpose is not to establish a catalog of brave female deeds. Rather, it is because these accounts continue to be interpreted categorically, by invoking the theory of "reversal" in what is called "inversion of the normal," or "anomaly."[25] Scholars start from two premises that seem indisputable: first, war is a matter for males; and second, both sexes live primarily on the basis of a binary and clear division of roles. Thus, they say, when women leave the closed and safe world of the οἶκος to engage in battle, there must be a rupture—temporary, to be sure—but still a break from the "normal order" of things, and even an overturning of values. As Fritz Graf concluded, in a fundamental article: "If there is a reference to how women behaved in Greece, it is a reference by *inversion*: the fighting women gain their semantic value through the opposition to *ordinary life*, where women were almost totally absent from the male world of war." These stories, therefore, whether they are based on historical events or on legend—as Graf supposes—"may sometimes project the otherwise *unthinkable*."[26]

This position, which is supported by other scholars, was also adopted recently in an article by Mauro Moggi, the co-editor with Massimo Osanna of Pausanias's Book 8 on Arcadia in the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla series.[27] There, Moggi says that since the *norm* provides that war "is the exclusive prerogative of men," it follows that "Marpessa and her women have appropriated a status and a role from which they would ordinarily be excluded, and such an appropriation is configured as a *reversal of the normality*."[28]

But there is more. It is often argued that this "inversion" in the realm of the practice of war would be doubled by a second "inversion" in another domain, this time of religion.[29] For example, women erecting the statue (?) of Enyalios at Argos would testify to such a "reversal," since this god, who is most often identified as Ares, would be a war god, honored exclusively by men. This "world turned upside down," would be even more apparent in the case at Tegea. First, it is the women who offered sacrifice to Ares, war god and male par excellence; moreover, in so doing they excluded men. Some scholars have noted,[30] however, that Greek women, deprived of the political rights reserved for citizens, did not perform the bloody sacrifices; they were kept away from the altars and the distribution of meat, because meat-eating was the monopoly of men in a sacrificial context.

Second, Ares would have accepted becoming a cult object for women, and he would certainly have wished to become "the Host of the banquet of women," as the cultural epithet Γυναικοθοίνας is often translated. The "inversion" would thus be complete, with women sacrificing, as they would not have done in "normal" circumstances, to a god whose cult would have been the domain of men but who had agreed to be the guest of honor at a women's banquet. And there is still more. It is sometimes said that Ares, whom Zeus called "the most hateful [. . .] of all gods that hold Olympus" (ἔχθιστος [. . .] θεῶν οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν, *Il*. 5.890), the god of "war furor," would have infused this furor into the women's bodies, transforming them "into warriors."[31]

These views raise several questions, but within the confines of this chapter I will limit myself to a few comments. First, Ares should not necessarily be identified with Enyalios. While some literary sources may confuse the two, others (e.g., Aristophanes) distinguish between them, a distinction already made by Alcman.[32] In addition, Enyalios was honored in some cities as an independent deity,[33] especially by the cult of Enyalios at Therapne of Laconia, where "each company of youths sacrifices a puppy to Enyalios, holding that the most valiant of tame animals is an acceptable victim to the most valiant god" (Paus. 3.14.9). Further, in epigraphic documentation, the names of Enyalios and Ares cited separately, such as in the famous Athenian ephebic oath (mid–fourth century).[34]

Second, there is no evidence that the cults of Ares or Enyalios were reserved for men, as some scholars maintain when they refer to a cult of Ares in Geronthrae, a town in Laconia. According to Pausanias, "in Geronthrae itself are a temple and grove of Ares. Every year they hold a festival in honor of the god, at which women are forbidden to enter the grove" (ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερόνθραις Ἄρεως ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος. Ἑορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος, ἐν ᾗι γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος, Paus. 3.22.6–7).[35] But in Greek cities there are other cults in honor of these two war deities, where nothing is said about the possible exclusion of women.[36] Moreover, the ritual prohibitions affecting both women and men constitute a fairly complex chapter of Greek religion, and they are very often attributable to local circumstances, so any generalizations should be avoided.[37]

Third, in the accounts of Telesilla and Marpessa in Argos and Tegea, Pausanias says nothing about a supposed intervention of Ares that would have imbued women's bodies with a force and a fighting spirit that they would ordinarily lack. In all these cases, women took the initiative to launch themselves into battle, so in all likelihood they might also have decided to perform a subsequent act of devotion—sacrificing to the god of war and reserving the sacrificial meat for

themselves—to signify the decisive role they played in the battle where they had routed the Lacedaemonians. Of course, some might respond that in the version of Argive events given by Plutarch (see above), women combatants were driven by an energy and audacity designated as δαιμόνιος, which might imply the action of a divine power. But the term δαιμόνιος has several meanings. Even if, in this case, it suggests divine intervention, nothing proves that the god in question is Ares. Moreover, the only deity mentioned in Plutarch's account is Enyalios. In this context, I prefer to think that it is Enyalios (not Aphrodite or Ares, as is sometimes posited) who was thought to infuse women with warriorlike daring.

To conclude these reflections, I would add two brief comments about the stories. First, it is not necessary to see the operation of an *invitation* in the bestowal of the epithet Γυναικοθοίνας on Ares. This epithet is sometimes translated as "he who invites women to the banquet," and at other times as "he who is invited to the banquet by women," explaining the sacrificial ritual performed by the women of Tegea in honor of Ares, according to the theory of "inversion of the normal."[38] But the verb θοινάω may mean simply "eat at a banquet, or in a feast," a θοίνη. The Greeks, when they wished to say "invite someone to dinner," used εἰς θοίνην καλεῖν τινα (Eur. *Ion*. 1140) or παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην (Ar. fr. 549 Rose). Thus Ares Γυναικοθοίνας could be simply "he who dines with women at a feast." He would therefore have been a "partaker in a feast" with women, their "*dinner companion*" (συνθοινάτωρ or σύνθοινος).[39] On the other hand, as a result of epigraphic testimony, scholars have known for some years that Greek women were not excluded from either blood sacrifices or meat-eating, although this view continues to be repeated at times, despite the new evidence.[40] Therefore, the ritual of Tegea should not be seen as an "inversion of the normal."

Second, when the texts state that women fought with stones and tiles, some scholars, and some translations of these texts, have a tendency to turn these women into simple "auxiliaries" of men, even if the sources do not contain any term that would require such a narrow interpretation.[41] On the other hand, it is significant that Thucydides (3.74.1), when describing the action of women of Corcyra, employed the verb συνεπιλαμβάνομαι, which essentially means "take part together with," and not "assist," as it is often translated.[42] Similarly, Plutarch (*Pyrrh*. 27.3) uses the verb συνεργάζομαι, which means "work with, collaborate, cooperate" (and not "help," as it is translated in the Loeb edition[43]), to describe the mode of action of "the women and maidens" in the defense of Sparta against Pyrrhus. It is particularly the concepts of *participation*, *collaboration*, and *cooperation* that demand attention here. What arises from all these accounts that

describe the different forms that women's intervention in war may take is the idea of the *collective*, an interconnected effort made by both men and women. When the city is in danger, or when there is a σπάνις ἀνδρῶν ("scarcity of men"), action is taken en masse, with the *whole people* (πανδημεί)—men, women, and also (at times) girls, children, and slaves.[44] Facing the enemy (whose soldiers would camp before the gates of the city, attack it, or seize possession of the town), what matters is above all the capacity to respond, shown by the whole human community, mobilizing and throwing itself into the battle for its own survival and salvation. This effort involves every person—regardless of social or political position, regardless of age or gender—who might be useful in the defense of city and country.[45]

I am aware that this analysis leaves out a series of more or less significant details that could enrich and refine, or even contradict, certain propositions advanced here. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the theory of *inversion*, *reversal*, or *anomaly*, based mainly on a marked opposition between the sexes, is not able to account for the varied and complex situations that seem to highlight (among other things) the concepts of collaboration, participation, and complementarity.[46]

NOTES

1. This sentence, nicely fashioned by the pen of Jean-Pierre Vernant, found its rightful place in his study on "La guerre des cités" (Vernant 1974b): 38. See, in the same sense, Loraux 1981a: 147. Separated from its context, however, it becomes a kind of convenient cliché, emptied of any nuance.

2. See Payen 2004: 19n11, who refers to several works of Nicole Loraux (a fervent advocate for this perspective).

3. On certain aspects of the active role of women in the context of religious cult, see Georgoudi 2003, 2005.

4. See Loraux 1981a: 129 (speaking of Athens): "*astè* n'est que le nom de la femme mariée fille de citoyen" ("*astè* is only the name of a married woman who is the daughter of a citizen"). On the terms ἀστός|ἀστή and πολίτης|πολῖτις, and the polysemy of the word *politeia*, as well as the problem of the citizenship of women, see the relevant observations of Hoffmann 1999 (with the bibliography cited there), followed and extended by Payen 2004: 30–3. On the character of the term πολίτης, masculine and feminine at the same time, see Blok 2005.

5. Detienne 1981: 106–7.

6. On the polyvalence of this concept, which may designate different qualities, according to the contexts, see Boulogne 2002: 8–10 in his "Notice" to the treatise of Plutarch's *Mulierum uirtutes*.

7. On this treatise of Plutarch, see Schmitt-Pantel 2009a: 183–8. On the narratives concerning women "constituted as a group" in the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, see Loraux 1989: 274, 300. For Loraux, however, these "fleeting and opaque" narratives relate to a "collectivity" that she regards as "of the unthinkable."

8. See Plato *Laws*, 7.806a on the women of Sparta, who, though disposed to working with wool, did not participate in the exercises of war.

9. Of the women and the smoke, cries, and fires lit by the enemy, see Xenophon *Hell*. 6.5.28. See also Plutarch *Ages*. 31.5 on the subject of the women of Sparta, who, according to Xenophon, "had never seen an enemy" before the invasion of the Thebans in 370–369 BCE. See also Payen 2004: 28.

10. I translate very closely from the Greek text, while following, more or less, the translation of T. Saunders 1995.

11. Aubonnet 1968. Among others interpreting this phrase in the same sense, see Ducrey (chapter 10), as well as Ducat 1999: 166; Loraux 1989: 292. See also Cartledge 2001: 110–1; Napolitano 1987: 131; Schaps 1982: 196.

12. Pellegrin 1993 (italics mine).

13. T. Saunders 1995: 152 (italics in the original).

14. See Barker 1946: "*unlike* the women of other states, they were of no use whatever, and caused more confusion than the enemy"; Barnes 1984: "*unlike* the women in other cities, they were utterly useless and caused more confusion than the enemy" (italics mine).

15. Powell 2005: 323–7.

16. The term ἀνδρεία is derived from the word ἀνήρ ("man").

17. On this account, see, in general, Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 154–60; Pironti 2007: 259–62 (with the bibliography cited there). On this episode, see also Ducrey (chapter 10).

18. See further, page 209.

19. Plutarch says only ἱδρύσασθαι τὸν Ἐνυάλιον; on this expression, see Vollgraff 1934: 151n8.

20. On the question of the historicity of these accounts, see Ducrey (chapter 10).

21. On the controversial sense of this name, see Moggi 2005: 144–6. I don't pursue this discussion here, but it would be well worth a separate study.

22. On the ὅπλον of Marpessa, which is an undifferentiated military weapon that is not necessarily a "shield," as it is often translated, see Moggi 2005: 140 (with references).

23. Nonetheless, it is not only the women who, in case of need, mounted the roofs in order to throw tiles at the enemies. Men did this as well when necessary (see Thuc. 4.48.2), a stance that Loraux (1989: 370n21) identifies as being *abnormal* "y compris pour les hommes" ("including for men"). See also note 25.

24. Plutarch *Pyrrh*. 27.1–5. On this episode, see Napolitano 1987: 132–3. For other examples of the evacuation of women (and children), see Ducrey (chapter 10).

25. See, for example, Auberger 2005: 176 in her commentary on Pausanias 4.21.6, who speaks of "traces of a rite of inversion." According to the conclusions of Loraux

1989: 278, 300, these accounts "reinforce the feeling of *anomaly* that attaches to interventions of women in the life of the city" (italics mine).

26. Graf 1984: 254 (italics mine). See also Graf 1984: 246, 250–3.

27. See Moggi and Osanna 2003: 511.

28. Moggi 2005: 141 (italics mine).

29. See, for example, Moggi 2005.

30. Referring at times to a well-known article of Detienne 1979, see Moggi 2005: 142n16.

31. See, among others, Pironti 2007: 261–2.

32. See Aristophanes *Peace* 457, with scholia; Alcman fr. 44 (trans. Campbell 2006): "They say that Alcman sometimes identifies them, sometimes distinguishes between them."

33. For example, at Athens or Salamis; see R. Parker 2005: 398. On the cults of Enyalios, as a deity separate from Ares, see Jost 1985: 129–30, 514–5; Lonis 1979: 120–1.

34. Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 440–8, no. 88.

35. See Moggi 2005: 141n14: "Ares, divinità querriera e ogetto di culti prettamente maschili."

36. In the Peloponnese, Pausanias mentions diverse cults of Ares—for example, at Laconia, on the road leading from Sparta to Therapne (3.19.7–8); or in the Argolid, near the city of Trezene (2.32.9); or in Elis (5.15.6)—without any exclusion of women attracting his notice. As for Enyalios, in descriptions of his cult in Lindos, where it is a question of sacrifice and procession, there is no allusion to a prohibition of women; see Sokolowski 1962: no. 85.

37. For example, the fact that certain rituals of Demeter are, above all, the concern of women, does not transform the goddess into a power that is "purely feminine."

38. See Graf 1984: 248 ("the Feaster of Women" or "the One whom the Women Feast"), 251–2; Jost 1998 (on Pausanias 8.48.4): "l'Hôte du banquet des femmes"; Moggi 2005: 142: "colui che invita (o festeggia) le donne a banchetto" or "colui che è invitato (o festeggiato) dalle donne a banquetto," 143, 146; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 270: "celui que fêtent les femmes." See also Detienne 1979: 189 (=Detienne 1989: 132: he who "presides over the women's banquet"). On the theory of "reversal," see also note 26.

39. On these terms, see Euripides *El.* 638; Polemon *ap.* Ath. 6.234d.

40. See the thoughtful examination of Osborne 1993.

41. See esp. Loraux 1989: 277.

42. See Loraux 1989: 279.

43. Perrin 1920.

44. See Thucydides 1.90.3: "the whole population of the city, men, women, and children." As Payen 2004: 36 has aptly observed, "in similar cases, the entire *demos* (πανδημεί) constitutes the city under arms, the civil army, women included." On the sense of the adverb πανδημεί in this context, see Thucydides 5.82.6. See also Herodotus 7.120. On the "scarcity of men," see Polyaenus *Strat.* 44.4.

45. Thucydides, too, allows this to be clearly understood in the case of civil war at Corcyra. The victory of the δῆμος against the oligarchs was due to the fact that the people "had the advantage in the strength of their position as well as in numbers" (3.73–4), an advantage obtained not only because of the rallying of the οἰκέται to the cause of the people, but most of all due to the active intervention of women. On the capacity of women to defend their country, see Plutarch (*Apophthegmata laconica* 12.227D): the lawgiver Lycurgus "instituted strenuous exercise for the bodies of the maidens . . . so that . . . if the need arise . . . they may be able to fight for themselves, their children, and their country."

46. I express my gratitude to Jeremy Metz and Judith Hallett, both of the University of Maryland, for the translation of my chapter from the original French into English.

Women's Wars, Censored Wars?

A Few Greek Hypotheses (Eighth to Fourth Centuries BCE)

PASCAL PAYEN

I begin with an observation that has the apparent force of evidence. Women are kept out of both the institutions related to war and the reflections of the ancient Greeks on that topic because—since females are not citizens—it would not be proper for them to fight for their city. The sex-based division of Greek civic societies would be reflected not only in the sphere of warfare but given further scope in the discourses relating to war, an activity that, for classical historians, was one of the most characteristic and most worthwhile pursuits within every human society (Hdt. *Prooimion*; Thuc. 1.1.1–2).[1]

Nicole Loraux, in a well-known chapter entitled "Le naturel féminin dans l'histoire" ("Feminine Nature in History"), writes that "in the division of tasks which operates among literary genres, historiography assumes a reassuring function for *andres* [ἄνδρες, "men" as both hoplites and citizens],[2] since "civic discourse" serves as a referent for this point of view. Conversely, again according to Loraux, only "fleeting and opaque narratives" are devoted to women, as though there had been a form of censure (or even erasure) of "women's interventions in the life of the city"—notably, I will add, with regard to everything that pertains to war. But to reach this conclusion, only women "constituted as a group"[3] need be looked at in order to trace, through the prose of historians, the expression of what Loraux calls a "feminine nature" as a counterpoint to the collectivity of ἄνδρες. It was therefore necessary—as Loraux makes clear from the start[4]—to leave out everything that pertains to barbarian women and to the role of women in the exercise or transmission of power, notably the rich assemblage of mothers, wives, daughters, or sisters of tyrants.[5] Yet in all these cases, the point at issue, more often than not, is warfare.

The primary hypothesis I develop here is different. It rests on the idea that by leaving out none of the kinds of relationships feminine figures[6] have with warfare, even the seemingly most tangential of them, it will be possible to bring to

light the various ways in which women are excluded from the domain of fighting. My second hypothesis is linked with the first, namely that women, as a collective body, do not constitute a mirror image of the male city, as the various forms of marginality[7] to which they are often confined seemingly indicate.

Sex-Based Polemology and the Exclusion of Women

My point of departure is a view generally agreed upon among historians of ancient Greece. According to these sources, war, more than anything else, assimilates men into a collectivity that brings out their inherent qualities. Before the final fight in Sicily, the Athenian strategist Nicias, in his address to his army, first highlights the large number of hoplites, in accordance with the classical device of a reassuring rhetoric: "See what hoplites you are, see too how many you are to march in fitting order" (καὶ ὁρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἷοι ὁπλῖται ἅμα καὶ ὅσοι ξυντεταγμένοι, Thuc. 7.77.4). But, thanks to "reflective thought" (λογίζεσθε, ἡγησάμενος), the multiple (the community of hoplites) is identified with the single (the city): "you alone are at once a city" (ὅτι αὐτοί τε πόλις εὐθύς ἐστε), "homeland and rampart" (καὶ πατρίδα καὶ τεῖχος). The plural ἄνδρες ("men" as both hoplites and citizens) is reintroduced in four successive stages as the harangue unfolds. It thus lends its whole political weight to the speech, through the shift that leads from ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, to ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖς,[8] and then to the celebrated ellipsis ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις ("for it is the men that are the city")—which is often taken out of context and quoted by itself, in a failure to understand that it is the final item in an argumentative sequence. The phrase has gnomic value and is at the heart of civic ideology in its relation to warfare and the sex-based component of war. Both concern for and the glory of battles belong solely to men (ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς); if women are excluded, it is through the modes of silence and implicit denial. A city at war, in its Athenian version, is a city full of men—and men only—in contradistinction, Nicias asserts in closing his speech, to "ramparts and vessels empty of men" (καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί, Thuc. 7.77.7).[9]

What conclusions can be drawn from an analysis of the proposals by this Athenian general, the most authoritative representative of the city? Nicias defines a sex-based polemology whose elements are similar to those found in Lacedemonia. Their functions are unchanged, but, as was to be expected, in Sparta they appear in a more radical form for men and women alike. Here the image of the city, used in place of ἄνδρες, is understood from the start to represent the whole; through metonymy, it is then extended to each one of its components, notably to the ramparts,[10] as Plutarch states in his *Apophthegms*. Plutarch

specifies that, in order for the city to always maintain its image, it must be prepared to eliminate at birth those prospective citizens who are "stunted or misshapen" (ἀγγεννὲς καὶ ἄμορφον, Plut. *Lyc*. 16.1) and would, once they had grown up, fail to conform to the pattern and the group of ὅμοιοι ("equals") with whom, individually and as a whole, the city identifies itself. For such a person, the elders deemed "that it was better for himself and the city that he should not be left alive" (ὡς οὔτ' αὐτῷ ζῆν ἄμεινον οὔτε τῇ πόλει, Plut. *Lyc*. 16.2). That ideological framework had been established since the second half of the seventh century BCE, appearing in Tyrtaeus's *Elegies*, which celebrated the man who, among his other qualities, "stands steadfastly and stays unshaken in the front" (ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβᾶς ἐν προμάχοισι μένηι, Tyrt. fr. 12.16, trans. M. West 1992), "the deserving warrior" (οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμωι, Tyrt. fr. 12.20, trans. M. West 1992) and the adornment of his city.[11] In light of this logic, girls are sheltered by the biology of their sex. They are kept out of the selection process to which male children are subjected, since whatever a female's physique might be, she does not belong to the hoplitic phalanx. This implies that there can be no warrior other than the hoplite, and no war other than the hoplitic. The different forms of warfare in which women could engage, as a complement to men, are censored: females are subjected to denial in the city's institutions as well as in the eugenicist Spartan discourse.

This model harks back to Homeric epic. In Book 6 of the *Iliad*, Andromache is compelled, as a "woman" (γυνή, *Il*. 6.460) and "wife" (ἄλοχος, *Il*. 6.495), to let Hector join the "solid battalions" (φάλαγγες καρτεραί, *Il*. 13.128–35)[12] and place himself at their head; she is obliged to let him "fight in the first ranks of the Trojans" (πρώτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι, *Il*. 6.445). The plural suggests that the "great glory" (μέγα κλέος) mentioned in the following line of the epic, and obtained in war, is an ideal, which gives prominence to the hero and, at the same time, provides a foundation for the armed community. Hector clearly states the distribution of roles between the sexes: "warfare will fall to men, to all of them and chiefly to me" (πόλεμος δ'ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει / πᾶσι μάλιστα δ'ἐμοί, *Il*. 6.492), whereas the "works" (ἔργα) of women have to do with the "loom and the spindle" (ἱστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, *Il*. 6.490–1).[13] Lysistrata, in Aristophanes's eponymous play, is reminded of that model by her husband, who quotes Hector's words verbatim (πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει, Ar. *Lys*. 519–20) and advises her to stick to her spinning. In an apparently kindlier tone, which nonetheless does not alter the substance of what is said in any way, Xenophon's Ischomache confines himself to the same distribution of social roles in the advice he gives to his anonymous young bride. For man (ἀνδρός), who forms part of the serried ranks

of the warriors, Xenophon evokes marches and military expeditions, which restrict warfare to its hoplitic expression, while different kinds of combat (sea battles, guerilla warfare, sieges) and other types of warriors are never envisaged or mentioned.[14] To woman falls what goes on before the battle, in the sphere of the household, because "the deity has made for her a less resistant body" (Xen. *Oec.* 7.22–3). Pauline Schmitt-Pantel has shown that this was a theoretical construct, condensing a group of representations.[15] This ideology is founded on a set of equivalent polarities: woman/man (γυνή/ἀνήρ) and indoors/outdoors (τὰ ἔνδον ἔργα / τὰ ἔξω ἔργα, Xen. *Oec.* 7.23, 25). Instead of warfare (πόλεμος) and expeditions (στρατείας), which are the prerogatives of men, women have the loom (ἱστόν) and the spindle (ἠλακάτην). The feminine modalities of warfare never enter into play; they do not necessarily incur blame as much as they are denied or deleted.

Historiographical Perspectives

For a long time, modern studies on the relations between women and warfare in ancient Greece have been reluctant to lift this censure, to the extent sometimes of explicitly refusing to pose the question. This perspective is very surprising on the part of authors who come to adopt—almost in spite of themselves—a positivist historical view.

Loraux develops the idea that the ordeal (πόνος) of childbirth is the equivalent of war and its sufferings. In such a context, ὠδῖνες, which denotes the pains of women in childbirth, is considered "the feminine name for suffering."[16] Two contributions by Jean Ducat on Spartan women and war are situated in this analytical tradition. In the register of the *Apophthegms*, it behooves men only to fight, and women only to give birth to future warriors.[17] Loraux does not once mention Artemisia, the queen of Caria who won fame at the head of her vessels in the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 7.99, 8.87–8). A few years later, in Loraux's collective volume on Greece in the feminine (published in Italian in 1993, and translated into French in 2003), no chapter is devoted to that historical figure, though Artemisia is present in several sources from antiquity. Among the eight portraits of women in Loraux's book, by preference the emphasis falls on women famous for their political role or influence (Archippê of Cymê, a female euergete; Gorgô, Leonidas's wife); on intellectual figures (Sappho, Aspasia); or on women confined to traditional social roles (Lysimakhê the priestess, Neaira the courtesan).[18] The question of a relationship between warfare and Greek women, when the latter are clearly individualized and when real figures are evoked, is somehow avoided.[19] Herein lies a delicate historical and historiographical issue.

In feminist studies, as well as in any research bearing on social groups or peoples that have long occupied positions as minorities—one can think of the historiography of decolonization or of the working classes—the historians in charge of those issues are not immune to the risks of a militant approach that tends to reassert or overestimate the value of the object being analyzed. In denouncing men's power, it is better to leave women on the fringes and grant them valorizing functions. To place females at the center of power, supposing, by way of hypothesis, that they would be prone to the same forms of violence and the same excesses as men in time of war, does not accord with a historian's affects, whether that historian be a man or a woman. Yet such an interpretive course further strengthens the censure on women's wars.

Nonetheless, historiography is undergoing a change in this regard, because the sources show that in war, women were endowed with the same virtues as men. In a recent book, Pauline Schmitt-Pantel has analyzed the rare examples left by the Greeks of a woman's heroic behavior, while showing that this constitutes "but one of the facets of the Greek discourse on the inequality between the sexes."[20] The oblivion to which Artemisia was for so long a victim has recently been remedied in a publication by Violaine Sebillotte Cuchet on Artemisia of Halicarnassus, referring to her as "the Amazon who did exist"—a provocative but justified title.[21] Sebillotte Cuchet's analysis takes place at a meeting point in the history of representations of warfare, and of the relations between the masculine and the feminine, between man and woman, while taking care to include the multiple real contexts in which the brief episode of the battle of Salamis is situated. This point of view is not far removed from that of Herodotus, who is the chief source on Artemisia. In his narrative, as Geneviève Hoffmann emphasizes, Artemisia throws the traditional categories into confusion because she is at once warrior and woman,[22] hence Greek and barbarian, victorious and vanquished, which is no doubt a way to evade censure by showing that femininity is a cultural construct in which a woman's relationship with war was constituted as only one issue among several others. My perspective is close to that of these works and in fundamental agreement with them, and my purpose in this chapter is to emphasize that, in spite of their apparent oblivion, women at war were a reality in the cities linked to representations of the difference between the sexes. Therein lies the most delicate issue.

Women at War: An Incomplete Censure?

Fortunately, censure is rarely watertight. I shall restrict myself here to two promising instances. The first concerns a less-investigated side of warfare in cities in

the Greek world: its defensive aspect. Front-line warfare, such as that of the hoplites at Marathon, Delion (424 BCE), or Mantina (421 BCE)—the warfare immortalized and sanctified by Herodotus's and Thucydides's narratives (Hdt. 6.107–13; Thuc. 4.89–101, 5.66–74)—or a composite form of that warfare, with the presence of heroes, front-line warriors (πρόμαχοι), and soldiers brought together into "battalions" (φάλαγγες, Hom. *Il.* 13.128–35, 16.210–20)[23]—is not the only possibility when battles are waged. Moreover, warfare does not confine itself to moments of confrontation. Andromache is proof of that. In order to convince Hector to stay with his own people, she does not restrict herself to laments; she proposes another kind of warfare to her husband,[24] carried out from the "rampart" (τεῖχος)—a form of fighting in which she immediately shows her expertise. She points out to Hector the exact spot where the Trojan army must be on the lookout for the enemy, who have previously ventured there unsuccessfully, even though they had sent out their best warriors (*Il.* 6.429–39):

Ἕκτορ ἀτὰρ σύ μοί ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης·
ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν' ἐπὶ πύργῳ,
μὴ παῖδ' ὀρφανικὸν θήῃς χήρην τε γυναῖκα·
λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ' ἐρινεόν, ἔνθα μάλιστα
ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος.
τρὶς γὰρ τῇ γ' ἐλθόντες ἐπειρήσανθ' οἱ ἄριστοι
ἀμφ' Αἴαντε δύω καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἰδομενῆα
ἠδ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐδας καὶ Τυδέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν·
ἤ πού τίς σφιν ἔνισπε θεοπροπίων ἐῢ εἰδώς,
ἦ νυ καὶ αὐτῶν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει.

Hector, thou art for me at once a father, a dignified mother; for me thou art a brother as well as a young husband. For once have mercy on us; stay here on the rampart; nay, do not make of thy son an orphan nor of thy wife a widow. Therefore stop the army near the wild fig tree, where the town is the more accessible, the wall the easier to take away. There it is that three times over their best chieftains came probing us, the two Ajaxes, the illustrious Idomenes, the Atreids, Tydeus' valiant son, whether someone told them about it, fully cognizant of the heaven's decrees or whether their own hearts urge them on and rule them (trans. Mazon 1937).

Andromache appears to specialize in resistance, in defensive warfare—carried out from inside the city—whose sole glory is to protect the persons in

and properties of the household. She proposes another kind of war from the one that will transform a mother (μητέρα) into a widow (χήρην) and a son (παῖς) into an orphan (ὀρφανικόν).[25] To be well versed in this type of warfare presupposes that the other forms of war have also been studied.

In sieges sustained by cities, or during the short- or long-term preparations for war, women were almost always present.[26] Thucydides points out[27] that in 478 BCE, on Themistocles's order, "women" (γυναῖκας), along with all the rest of the city's population (πάντας πανδημείν), contributed to the reconstruction of the "rampart" (τεῖχος) of Athens (Thuc. 1.90.3); at this time the city needed women to help cope with a situation that was fast becoming tense vis-à-vis the Spartans. During the course of the Peloponnese War, in summer in 417 BCE, the δῆμος of Argos strengthened the defenses of the city against the Spartans by building up its "long walls" and, to that end, asked for help from "women" (γυναῖκες, Thuc. 5.82.5–6). When the Thebans finally broke into Platea one night in 427 BCE, they faced defensive urban guerilla warfare: "in a dreadful tumult, the enemy would attack them supported by the women and the slaves" (πολλῷ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε προσβαλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν, Thuc.2.4.2). Undoubtedly the weapons of the hoplites gave way when confronted with screams, stones, and tiles,[28] and eventually the enemy forces either were repelled and managed to flee or were taken prisoners (Thuc. 2.4.2–5). This is the same kind of war that Andromache recommends to Hector. Moreover, one piece of evidence has to be emphasized: in the context of street warfare, no phalanx can be deployed. Therefore the men are compelled to adopt other modes of fighting, such as those belonging to the type of war waged by women. The δῆμος under arms, in full numbers (πάντας πανδημεί), according to Thucydides's phrase, is therefore the one that adopts the women's kind of warfare. The most effective form of "total warfare," the one that engages the greatest number of people and leads to the greatest assurance of victory—would it not be this feminine way of waging war? From the beginning of the seventh century BCE, in actual battles between cities, when a phalanx is mentioned in the sources, this type of guerilla confrontation is likely to have been as frequent as the meeting of two phalanxes. On reading the numerous narratives of defensive wars,[29] one notices that Greek historians abandon their censure of it on two points. In defensive warfare, in which women were the experts, females manifest virtues similar to men's, notably manly courage (ἀνδρεία).[30] In the service of the city, women do not envisage any mode of action at the political level other than a collective approach (πανδημεί).

The second instance that illustrates the classical historians' incomplete censure concerns what happened in the period that followed war. Warfare is not over when the battles end. The Spartans were well aware of that. It was after the slaughter at Leuctra in 371 BCE that the real danger began for them, not only because the Thebans were in a position to invade a city bereft of a material rampart and "void of men," but also because the women's sorrow needed to be brought under control by reminding them of their duty to stay "on the reserve" (σωφροσύνη, Plut. *Mor.* [*On the Virtues of Women*] 242E): as mothers and wives they would have to bear the onus of war's "misfortune" in the days to come. The brief mention of the ephors who "advised women not to indulge in laments and silently to endure their sorrow" (προεῖπον δὲ ταῖς γυναιξίν μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ πάθος φέρειν, Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16) had its counterpart in Athens, in the passage where Pericles, in a "brief exhortation" (βραχείᾳ παραινέσει) at the end of a funeral oration in 431 BCE, also pointed out to the women who were present at the ceremony that "womanly virtue" (γυναικείας ἀρετῆς, Thuc. 2.45.2) would benefit the city, because, as war widows, they had access to the public sphere.[31] Woman's sorrow contributes to the inscription of war in the annals of the dead. To ask women, as the ephors and Pericles did on behalf of the city, to remain as a silent presence, or to satisfy themselves with "fame" (κλέος) reduced to a bare minimum by men, entails a recognition that war is the object of manifold and complementary representations: fury (λύσσα) and tumult (θόρυβος) outside, silence (σιγή) inside.[32]

It thus appears that civic ideology (a phrase used here for the sake of convenience), even when expressed by its most authoritative voices—magistrates like the ephors, whose vested function was general surveillance, or the orator selected for the speech in homage to the dead, a civic genre if ever there was one[33]—does not conceal women's presence in the memorial ceremonies after the wars, nor do the historians silently pass over the realities of defensive wars. Ancient Greek societies did indeed rest on the principle of keeping women out of such matters, but they have left enough testimonies for the modern historian to be able to observe the various modalities that enabled women to be involved in the sphere of warfare. Do the sources lead us further, however? Did the Greeks know about types of societies in which the relationships between women and warfare were even more closely established?

As far as I an aware, the only man to examine such matters in depth, and to do so almost systematically, was Herodotus. Thus, where he is concerned, one can speak of a set of observations, or, rather, of anthropological experiments.[34]

I shall expound on a few of them, without having recourse, except very briefly for the sake of comparison, to the Artemisia issue explored by Sebillotte Cuchet.

A Few Cases of Anthropological Experimentation in Herodotus

To begin with, I should briefly reintroduce the global interpretative framework within which Herodotus situates his episodes and analyses regarding the relationships between women and warfare. A central idea dominates this framework: the essential and vital requisite, strictly speaking, for a "people" (ἔθνος, γένος) is to be able to establish a way of life and maintain habits and customs that enable them to avoid wars and potential conquests. In a generalizing and recapitulative passage (of which there are several in his work), Herodotus makes the following point (Hdt. 4.46):

> Τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένεϊ ἓν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷόν τε εἶναι [. . .] Κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;
>
> As regards one of the most important of human affairs, the Scythian people, of all that we know, has imagined the wisest solution (σοφώτατα). But I do not see anything else in them worthy of admiration. What they have contrived, as I said, of prime importance is a way to prevent any aggressor who would march against them from escaping and, indeed, anyone from assaulting them if they do not want to be discovered [. . . so that] they are sheltered from fighting and out of reach.

Each set of people can attain this solution if, within their territory, they "find" a geographic uniqueness to which they will conform and will equate their way of life. Identity and universality are thus present in each of these cohesive groups of people. Consequently, Herodotus's narration and the microhistories that constitute his *Inquiry* are never digressions or parentheses (he forms a theory about that, too).[35] Moreover, these "additions" (προσθῆκαι) are what he looks for in the first place. They are part of a narrative that is seen as a whole, although it contains many variants and variables concerning mores, customs, political organization, and the art of warfare—either as a war of conquest or one conducted in a defensive mode—that were collected by means of personal observation, or through oral tradition, in both Greek territory and barbarian lands. In light of

this context, I reconsider a few figures of women at war, and some different forms of women's wars, in Herodotus's *Inquiry*.

One of the most interesting figures is named Tomyris, queen (βασιλεία) of the Massagetes, a nomadic people whom Herodotus locates between the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral (Hdt. 1.201–16). He shows his interest in her in a rather lengthy way at the end of Book 1, when her people were threatened by Cyrus's plans to conquer them, with the assistance of his counselor Cresus. Cyrus sends a messenger to Tomyris to present a proposal of marriage to her, but she surmises that it is "the realm of the Massagetes" that he "desires" (Hdt. 1.205). She then suggests that they either maintain a political status quo, with each one staying at home, or, if he does intend to have a confrontation, that they employ a type of warfare typical of nomads, which consists of evading the opponent, with Tomyris luring the conqueror away by fleeing (Hdt. 1.207), and he being forever unable to reach her over those endless lands that the narrative describes as "deserted" and as "empty territory" (χώρη ἐρήμη). But Cyrus captures Tomyris's son through a ruse. The latter, stricken by shame, commits suicide, whereupon the queen engages in a classic battle, which, as Herodotus writes, "was the fiercest of all the battles that were waged between barbarians" (Ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, Hdt.1.214). Cyrus perished in the course that battle.

Herodotus' version of Cyrus' death is not known through any other variant,[36] and it perturbs specialists, since it looks as if it were partly a construction or invention to account for Herodotus's reflections on warfare (at the beginning of his work, in Book 1, it almost plays the role of a "reference myth"). Yet this death is highly interesting in several respects. To begin with, it provides significant proof that the nomads' behavior, which is a strategy of resistance, always leads to victory, in this instance one over a paradigmatic conqueror, the founder of the Persian Empire. Next, war appears as a scourge, for even victory is a sign of death: "though I am alive and I vanquished you in battle, you have destroyed me" (Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζώουσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας), a statement that Tomyris directs at Cyrus' corpse.[37] Lastly, could she not represent an inverse and complementary figure to Artemisia in the spectrum of anthropological hypotheses propounded by Herodotus? Tomyris is an insurgent; Artemisia, on the contrary, is a member of the conqueror's army, that of Xerxes, who is a distant successor to Cyrus. Tomyris fights on her territory as a native; Artemisia enters the waters of Salamis as a foreigner. Tomyris wages war on land; Artemisia is involved in a battle at sea. But the interplay of differences and oppositions rests on an essential analogy: both of them are political figures—queen and tyrant—and

they illustrate the capacity of women to embody the courage of a warrior. On entering the fray, Tomyris possesses δύναμις ("power," Hdt. 1.214), and Artemisia has ἀνδρεία ("courage," but also "manliness," Hdt. 7.99).

Although the portrayals of the two women are inverse and complementary, both figures, as they are built up by Herodotus, condense some of the anthropological potentials of women's wars, and even warfare in general. War, in Herodotus's narrative, is not an exclusive prerogative of ἄνδρες. Between the two of them, Tomyris and Artemisia bring together nearly all the variables that the confrontation—the comparison between several societies, and between men and women, masculinity and femininity—elicits at the end of the *Inquiry*.

Confirmation of this hypothesis is to be found in two narratives devoted to the Scythian manner of waging war, narratives in which women and femininity play an important part. Although the two stories are distant from each other in Book 4, they mirror one another and their complementarity is worth examining. In the first instance, the Scythians come home after a long absence devoted to a pursuit of the Cimmerians and a fight against the "empire of the Medes" (Hdt. 4.1–4).[38] On their return, "they found facing them a considerable army, since the Scythian wives, owing to the lengthy absence of their husbands, had had sexual intercourse with their slaves" (αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὥς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτων παρὰ τοὺς δούλους). A fight (μάχη) ensues between the Scythians and a new generation (νεότης) "begotten of the slaves of the Scythians and their wives" (ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὧν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν). Confusion sets in, because the δοῦλοι have superseded the ἄνδρες; a new opposition, one that is social and political (δοῦλοι/γυναῖκες), adds to the sex-based division (ἀνήρ/γυνή) and replaces it momentarily. To reinstate political and sexual order, the Scythians reorder how warfare is conducted by adapting their weaponry to the nature of the enemy: relinquishing their arms in favor of the whip (μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας). The slaves immediately run away instead of confronting their attackers. Thus war against slaves (at least in its usual form) is a forbidden war, which has no place in the anthropological categories retained by Herodotus.

The second narrative takes place further on in Book 4, in a similar Scythian context. It represents the etiological myth of the Sauromates people. The Amazons, after escaping the Greeks, reach the land of the Scythians, decide to mount horses, and take to plundering (Hdt. 4.110–1). Here, just as it was in the situation with the slaves, the categories of warfare are blurred. The Scythians mistake the Amazons for young men. When they realize, after examining some corpses "at the end of the battle" (ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης), that their opponents are women

(γυναῖκας), the Scythians consult one another (βουλευομένοισι) and "decide not to kill them any more in any way" (αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς), but instead to send the youngest (νεωτάτους) among them to each other, in equal numbers. From then on a unique way of life sets in, one that is *apolitical* in nature: each side retains their weapons but does not fight with the other, and "lives on hunting and plunder" (θηρεύσοντες καὶ ληιζόμενοι, Hdt. 4.113), thus experiencing a world with arms, but without any war, until several sexual intimacies intervene. In this way the Sauromates people came into being, among whom, through a common accord, "women" (γυναῖκες) and "men" (ἀνδράσι) wage wars in the same way (Hdt. 4.116–7).[39] This second example from Herodotus shows that warfare *against* women is prohibited, but not warfare *with* women.

The main features of these two narratives are complementary. Nothing comes out of a war against the slaves, except for a reinstatement of the prevalence of the ἄνδρες. Conversely, in the second story, renouncing war against the Amazons ushers in the birth of a new people and the possibility of a war with women involved as full participants. Through his narratives on warfare, women, and femininity, Herodotus exposes what are possible events demonstrating that warfare is a mobile anthropological object. Amazons, even if they didn't exist, can at least enable the historian to ponder the topic of war.

In ancient Greece, when the question of war arises, women almost always have their say. This does not mean that men let them have the last word, but, without women's contributions to the sphere of warfare, society is not possible (although this may be an inappropriate generalization to be drawn from Herodotus).

NOTES

1. The general value of their discourse is underscored by both authors resorting to ἄνθρωποι ("humankind") as the framework for their analyses. Herodotus's approach lies beyond the traditional division between Greeks and barbarians, and that of Thucydides beyond the opposition between Sparta and Athens.

2. Loraux 1989: 300.

3. In the studies of the 1970s and 1980s, the tendency was to view women as collective bodies; see Schaps 1982: 212: "I have paid particular attention to cases where women took mass action, hoping thereby to learn something about women in general rather than a few exceptional personalities." This is also the perspective adopted by Powell 2005 and taken up again by Georgoudi (chapter 11).

4. Loraux 1989: 273–4.

5. That perspective is discarded in Loraux 2003, in which only heroines—of every kind and description—are taken into account, to the extent of running the risk of attempting hypothetical biographies of famous women. See note 18.

6. I specify "feminine figures," rather than "the women," in order to emphasize the role of discursive elaboration, which also intervenes in the process.

7. Or of complementarity, considering the dominant cultural pattern, which was that of male citizens; see Dewald 1981: 91–126. The gender studies of the early 1980s tend to give groups of women a place equivalent to that of men in terms of historical societies, anthropological categories, or cultural influences. So does Schaps 1982: 212, who concludes his article by stating: "the men and women of a city were partners in war."

8. The equivalence between στρατιῶται and ἄνδρες is formulated by Plutarch *Mor.* (*Laconian Apophthegmata*) 214B: οἱ ἔφοροι ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶντες δεομένην στρατιωτῶν κτλ.

9. On the city being "empty of men," see Plutarch *Mor.* (*Laconian Apophthegms*) 214, evoking Sparta after Leuctra (371 BCE): ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν.

10. Plutarch *Mor.* (*Laconian Apophthegms*) 210E, attributed to Agesilas (line 29). See Fuhrmann 1988: 153n5: "As another wondered why Sparta was devoid of ramparts (ἀτείχιστος), describing the citizens in arms he said: 'here are the ramparts (τείχη) of Lacedemon'" (line 30).

11. See also Lycurgus *Leoc.* 106–7 on Tyrtaeus as an educator of Sparta's youth, an ideology that persisted into the fourth century BCE. At the same time (or even earlier) at Ephesus, Kallinos composed warlike elegies on a similar register: fr. 1.9–13, 17, trans. M. West 1992.

12. The substantive φάλαγξ occurs thirty-four times in the *Iliad*. The superposition of the various modes of combat in the epic has been analyzed by Latacz 1977: 45–9, 141–71.

13. The passage is analyzed from a different perspective by Rousseau (chapter 1).

14. Lissarrague 1990.

15. Schmitt-Pantel 1994–1995: 300.

16. Loraux 1989: 40: "Le lit, la guerre."

17. Ducat 1998, 1999.

18. Loraux 1993, 2003 (French translation).

19. This same remark is in Brulé 2001.

20. Schmitt-Pantel 2009a: 192. Conversely, Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes* gives full scope to women's fears as the Argive army draws near (182–202) and to the disasters that the capture of a city entails for the women, following the Trojan model (321–44).

21. Sebillotte Cuchet 2009a.

22. Hoffmann 2010.

23. See a synthesis of this question in Singor 1995: 183–4; see a more detailed recent appraisal in Schwartz 2009: 13–7.

24. This performative dimension of feminine speech in the *Iliad* is analyzed by Nappi (chapter 2).

25. From wife to widow: *Il.* 22.484, 499; from son to orphan: *Il.* 6.403; 22.484–91, 499–501, 505–507. See Le Meur-Weismann 2008–2009: 31–2.

26. See Lissarrague (chapter 4).

27. Reluctant though Thucydides may be to grant women a place in the order of war. See Vanotti 2010.

28. The Corcyrean women also proceeded to assault the enemy by throwing tiles, operating side by side with the *demos*, during the *statis* of 427 BCE (Thuc. 3.73–4). See Loraux 1989: 359; Vanotti 2010: 460.

29. Georgoudi (chapter 11) gives further instances of such wars.

30. The "virtues" are equally shared, but they are not identical for either sex; sometimes, however, they are strictly equivalent. A discussion of this interpretation has been opened by Georgoudi (chapter 11).

31. See Kallet 1993; Vanotti 2010: 458–9.

32. And, after the fray, "uncertainty and confusion" (ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχήν), according to Xenophon *Hell.* 7.5.27.

33. On the *epitaphios logos* as a political genre, see Loraux 1981b: 225–65.

34. Though there is no question here of utopia or other forms of ideal societies, notably in their relation to fiction.

35. Hdt. 4.30: "From the beginning onwards, my narrative is looking out from some form of broadening" (προσθήκας). This does not mean "digressions," but rather anything that gives further scope to the narrative, to the *logos*, whether this word is taken as a referring to a particular episode or designating the work as a whole. On this passage, cf. the diverging analyses of Payen 1997: 95–7 and Spada 2008: 50–2.

36. But Herodotus stresses the fact that he knows many other narratives reporting this death (1.214).

37. The fortune of that historiographical model has been long-lived. See, for instance, war as pestilence in Thuc. 2.47–8, and as "disorder and confusion" in Xenophon *Hell.* 7.5.27, in the aftermath of the battle of Mantina, when it is no longer possible to discriminate between victors and vanquished (see note 32).

38. The fight against the Cimmerians is found in Herodotus 1.106.

39. See Bichler 2000: 30–2.

The Warrior Queens of Caria (Fifth to Fourth Centuries BCE)

Archeology, History, and Historiography

VIOLAINE SEBILLOTTE CUCHET

The present analysis subscribes to my general approach toward the ways in which the ancient Greeks interpreted the differences between the sexes.[1] My point of departure is that no one can say what role these differences played in the construction of social relations. In contrast to Pascal Payen (chapter 12), I will not adopt the generally accepted hypothesis that the division between the sexes was the overall basis for the organization of all civil societies in the ancient Greek world. My interest lies precisely in questioning the circumstances in which the differences between the sexes were judged to be relevant for organizing behavior, actions, or gestures, as well as those situations in which they were less so—or did not apply at all.

As for the issue of women at war, most historians of classical antiquity agree that women did not participate in war, and particularly not in battles.[2] When, however, the textual evidence mentions female participation in war, researchers tend to interpret this through the rubric of inversion:[3] when the sources describe women who act as heroes—the famous ἄνδρες—they must appear in legendary narratives of dubious authenticity, simply because these accounts are evaluated according to our modern standards of truth. This limits scholars to a purely metaphorical reading of these texts. The suspicion that an ancient document fulfills a hidden function that historians must discover is nowhere as prevalent as in the domain of studies on women at war. It is generally admitted that the sole function of narratives relating the great deeds of women under arms (τὰ ὅπλα) is to undermine the status of men. According to the logic of alterity, if women take the place of men in these accounts, it means that the men have become women: in other words, "weaklings."[4] From this perspective, certain researchers consider the inclusion of female figures simply as "dramatic staging," without any connection to reality or to ancient representations of reality.[5]

When, however, historians are confronted with archeological evidence to the contrary, that interpretation becomes more difficult. One example is what is known as the Messenian war monument, discovered and described in a publication by Petros Thémélis in 1992. On the front of its περίβολος ("enclosing wall") is a list of the deceased—ten women and fourteen men—who, Thémélis says, were buried in cist tombs sometime between the second century BCE and the second century CE.[6] According to Thémélis, this monument was initially erected by the city of Messene in honor of ten illustrious dead (six men and four women: Neon, Thrasylochus, Antisthenes, Polystratus, Polyandros, Polycrates, Theba, Thelxippa, Gorgoi, Lysoi) whose names were carved at the same time, on the same register, in well-dressed letters. All the names appear in the nominative, without either patronymics or the parting address that usually follows in an inscription to the deceased. Thémélis, who has published studies of other Messenian funerary monuments, states that the location of the monument inside the city, east of the Asklepieion and very near to the Bouleuterion, as well as the use of the nominative, should be interpreted as signs of heroization. Thémélis posits that these men and women fell either during the struggle of Messene against Demetrius of Pharos in 214 BCE or, more likely, against Nabis of Sparta in 201 BCE. In this case, they may not have been regular fighters, but defenders who fell during the city's resistance. Regardless of the specific time or context, and if Thémélis is right in his interpretation, the existence of this civic monument clearly weakens the hypothesis of an anthropological prohibition of female participation in war. What is more, it counters the supposed disgrace that accompanied the "exceptions" passed down through the textual tradition concerning women defenders in times of war.

The evidence from Messene, however, dates to the Hellenistic period, which was richer in epigraphic evidence than the preceding eras. But one should not go so far as to say that there was a clear break between the classical and Hellenistic periods regarding the way in which women warriors were considered. Another crucial point is that the interpretation of the monument at Messene is highly controversial; it might not be a war monument, but instead a family one.[7] Nevertheless, Thémélis's suggestion has the advantage of requiring the formulation of a working hypothesis: is known about the way in which the ancient Greeks perceived the figure of a woman in combat? Was she necessarily a cautionary figure, or could she be given a positive value? Current research on women warriors in the Hellenistic period is better developed, mainly due to the renewed interest in Hellenistic queens and a more exhaustive use of epigraphic evidence.[8]

The aim of this chapter is to connect research pertaining to fourth century Caria (an environment considered as a precursor to the royal practices typical of the Hellenistic period)[9] with the preceding classical period. Research studies—by Elizabeth Carney, on the queens of the Hecatomnid dynasty;[10] Kristian Jeppesen, on the historiography of the capture of Halicarnassus by Alexander;[11] and my own, on Artemisia I, queen of Halicarnassus (who is portrayed by Herodotus as taking part in the battle of Salamis)—have independently converged in their approach to the sources. Each of them is committed to a critical examination of the tradition of modern historiography and its reading of ancient texts that essentially "forgets" women. In order to reintroduce them, it is necessary, as Carney and Jeppesen have done, to remove carefully the successive filters placed on the evidence and attempt to understand where those filters come from. My hypothesis is that they are based on an extreme polarization of masculine and feminine, understood as a sex-based division, within a specific intellectual framework, namely, an official rhetoric of classical Athens that was developed in the fifth to fourth centuries BCE. Later scholars, such as Plutarch, took up this rhetoric in the Roman period, as I have recently shown in connection with the motif of the *androgunos*.[12] Rather than presenting a hypothesis I have tested elsewhere,[13] this chapter draws a parallel between three episodes of war where women intervene militarily: the attack of Artemisia II against the Rhodians, the actions of Ada I at Halicarnassus, and those of Artemisia I at the battle of Salamis. I deconstruct the collection of ancient and modern interpretations relating to these episodes in order to bring the discursive goals underlying each of these interpretations to light. After having passed through this archeology of ancient discourses, historians can understand why the study of armed women in war, more than in any other domain, comes up against the aporias that I have briefly noted (suspicion of staging, instrumentalization of anecdotes). In the same way, historians can become aware of the logic that they privilege in their own interpretations. For convenience, I will proceed in a linear fashion, analyzing the three episodes under consideration one after another and drawing out, for each of them, the interpretive conflicts that were present since antiquity.

Artemisia II and the Rhodians: The "Athenian" and "Classical" Filters

Artemisia II, the sister and wife of Mausolus and a daughter of Hecatomnus, was dynast and probably a satrap of Caria at the beginning of the fourth century (392/1–377/6) BCE.[14] After the death of Hecatomnus, the dynasty continued with his five children: Mausolus, Artemisia, Idrieus, Ada, and Pixodarus, who occu-

pied their father's position in turn and probably in pairs (Strabo 14.2.7). Although only the role of Mausolus is mentioned in the textual evidence, inscriptions offer further evidence of a joint exercise of dynastic power. It is largely thanks to Elizabeth Carney that scholars have come to understand the power sharing between the two members of this dynastic couple. Contrary to what the literary sources seem to indicate, Mausolus and Artemisia, his sister-wife, ruled together.[15] After his death in 353 BCE, Artemisia alone occupied the throne until her own death in 351/0. It is in this context that Artemisia appears as a warrior queen in both Demosthenes and Vitruvius.

Demosthenes and Artemisia II: The Context of Patriotic Rhetoric

In the Athenian Demosthenes's speech *On the Liberty of the Rhodians* (*Oration* 15), delivered at the end of the 350s, the queen is described in an account that makes reference to an internal political crisis that Rhodes endured during the Social War (357–354 BCE). Having entered the war in alliance with Chios and Byzantium against Athens, Rhodes's defection from the Athenian Confederacy came at the cost of civil war: the Rhodian oligarchs drove the democrats from power (Dem. 15.27). Demosthenes thus presents to the Athenian assembly the Rhodian democrats' request to resume an alliance with the city. He portrays it as support for democracy against oligarchy, adding to this argument a defense of liberty against royal power, as well as merging with it the traditional rhetorical terms of the Greek—particularly Athenian—fight against the barbarians.

Why the barbarians? The Rhodian oligarchy undoubtedly benefited from the support of the Carian dynasty. At the end of his oration, Demosthenes evokes the period during which Mausolus and Artemisia got their "hands on Cos, Rhodes, [and] other Greek cities." Demosthenes makes a passing reference to the battles of Cimon (as well as the Athenian victory of Eurymedon in 465–464 BCE), then to the battles of the 370s BCE, interspersed with the territorial losses to the Persians.[16] As Demosthenes would have it, the Rhodian democrats' appeal to the Athenians for succor was an appeal to liberty from those who were "slaves to barbarians, slaves to slaves." This phrasing recalls the memory and the continuity of a heroic reading of the Medic Wars.[17]

Since Demosthenes's text does not mention Mausolus, but only Artemisia, this would lead one to believe that these events took place in the years between 353 and 350 BCE, after the death of the dynast-satrap.[18] Xerxes, the Great King, had lost a large number of his troops, who had been sent to Egypt. Therefore the Rhodian democrats, along with Demosthenes, hoped that he would not intervene.

In the end, the only real obstacle preventing the return of the democrats (aside from the Rhodian oligarchs) was Artemisia, who may have wanted to maintain a sphere of influence in Rhodes. Moreover, Demosthenes gives a description of the queen that shows he does not underestimate her political abilities.[19] According to Demosthenes, Artemisia acted only in her own interests, and it was not particularly advantageous for her to intervene in Rhodes: should it have fallen into her hands, Rhodes would surely have been handed over to the Persians, who would then possess a base very close to Halicarnassus.[20] The queen is unquestionably credited with a political and military prowess akin to that of a king. Although there is nothing to indicate that the queen would interfere in the battle, she is still described as active in her territorial claims and ready to consider sending a contingent to Rhodes. In this passage, Demosthenes is not concerned with the sex of the dynast: Artemisia possesses ἀρχή, a threatening military command, even though the orator believes she would not use it against an Athenian expedition to Rhodes.

On the other hand, while Demosthenes makes an argument for Athens's participation in a specific situation in Rhodes, he also highlights the whole ideological dimension of an opposition to barbarity. Targeting the Athenian audience, he uses the Rhodian petition to establish his city as a figurehead in the fight against oligarchs and barbarians.[21] With his Athenian audience of fellow citizens in mind, Demosthenes uses the Rhodian rhetoric to position his city at the forefront of the struggle against oligarchs and barbarians. These are classic rhetorical devices, used to convince the Athenians to intervene and revive their wounded pride through an aggressive political program. Only within this rhetorical framework—namely the opposition between Greeks and barbarians—does the orator bring in the question of the queen's sex. The Greco-Carians of Halicarnassus are designated as "barbarians, themselves slaves" (βαρβάροις καὶ δούλοις, Dem. 15.15) since they are under the authority of the king. "How," asks Demosthenes, "can you, who are Athenians, be terrorized by somebody who is both a barbarian and a woman?" (ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα, φοβήσεσθε, Dem. 15.23). This time, sex has become the determining factor in his view of the queen: she is, after all, a woman, and it would be shameful to be dominated by her.

Demosthenes states two ways of perceiving a female warrior, or, in this instance, a female commander. On the one hand, events can be analyzed simply as they occur: a woman, the commander of a city and of troops, pursues a strategy in which sex has little or no bearing. On the other hand, these same events make way for an interpretation—an Athenian interpretation—that emphasizes

the double shame of being beaten by a barbarian and a woman. This reading can be identified by its vocabulary (φόβος, "terror," 15.24; αἰσχρός, "shameful," 15.28) and by the way it engages a double polarity whose terms are narrowly defined: Greek and barbarian, man and woman.

Vitruvius and Artemisia II: The Stamp of Hellenicity

Vitruvius, in the first century BCE, gives an astonishing description of the capture of Rhodes by this same Artemisia.[22] The reliability of his account has been called into question because of a lack of corroborating sources: no other version has yet surfaced that dates to the three intervening centuries between the supposed expedition and Vitruvius's account.[23] Today, the general consensus is to consider that the event most likely took place, given both the topographical precision of Vitruvius's account and Demosthenes's testimony concerning the probable conflict between Halicarnassus and Rhodes during the reign of Queen Artemisia.[24] Mausolus and Artemisia controlled the island after its defection from the Athenian League in 357 BCE, and scholars accept that the Athenians did not intervene to help the democrats' revolt against the oligarchs, despite Demosthenes's speech (occurring between 353 and 351 BCE) urging the opposite. Such a conflict, or an attempt at civil war, certainly divided the city of Rhodes, and it would have been directed either against the oligarchic power that was in place or against Hecatomnid support. This political backdrop, however, does not appear in the account of Vitruvius, who instead concentrates on a single anecdote. What does he relate?

The Rhodians probably took advantage of the death of Mausolus in 353 BCE to try and cast off Carian domination. It seems that they sent a naval expedition against Halicarnassus, to which the queen responded with an imaginative defense: she hid troops and ships in a small, secret harbor and stationed the city's inhabitants on the walls. From there, the people of Halicarnassus welcomed the Rhodians as liberators when the latter approached the harbor, leading the Rhodians to believe that the people of Halicarnassus would willingly hand over their city to the invaders. The Rhodians then anchored their ships in the large, open harbor of the Hecatomnid capital, situated to the east of the bay of Halicarnassus. The Rhodians disembarked and made their way to the city walls. Artemisia's hidden fleet then appeared without warning and engaged the Rhodian ships, now bereft of fighters. Defenseless, the few crew members remaining on board were swiftly executed, and the ships were brought back to Rhodes by Artemisia and the disguised Carians. The Rhodians joyfully welcomed the ships, as they thought they were opening the city to their fleet, returned early from a

victorious expedition against Halicarnassus. Once inside, Artemisia put the leading citizens of Rhodes to death and erected two statues: one representing the city of Rhodes, and the other of Artemisia herself in the act of branding the Greek city. Vitruvius explains that the Rhodians later built a small structure around this statuary group so that no one might see it, "and they made a declaration that the place was inaccessible" (*et id ἄβατον uocitari iusserunt*, Vitr. 2.8.15).

In this account, the text of Vitruvius reuses a cliché frequently employed in those catalogs of deeds of a queen or a king who takes a city by surprise.[25] Rather than relating the anecdote to a specific event, it is better to see it as the way in which the Greeks and Romans of the first century BCE perceived Artemisia's power in the region. From this point of view, the episode attests to the permanence of the cultural codes inherited from a tradition that, for lack of better information, could simply be called the "classical Athenian" tradition, which is seen at work in the speech of Demosthenes.

In the text of Vitruvius, the Rhodians are essentially infuriated because a woman holds power: "The Rhodians, outraged that a woman ruled over the cities of all Caria" (*Rhodii indignantes mulierem imperare ciuitatibus Cariae totius*, Vitr. 2.8.14). Their indignation recalls the terror (φόβος), obviously a conventional sentiment, at seeing a woman compete on the field of battle. Female rule is considered a serious affront: the place that commemorates the victory of Artemisia over the Rhodians is declared to be forbidden (ἄβατον), hidden behind walls. The account recalls the perennial motif of liberty, a masculine and Greek concept, as opposed to slavery, a mark of barbarity and femininity. Branding is reserved for slaves guilty of a serious offence, such as the crime of running away; it is particularly ignominious for the Rhodians, who are described here as subjugated, not only by their defeat but also because this defeat was inflicted on them by a woman.

Vitruvius may have enjoyed reusing a narrative trope that was probably handed down through a local context, but he unquestionably based his account on a well-known historical event, namely, the presence of a queen at the head of a fleet that potentially, indeed effectively, menaced neighboring cities and engaged in a number of battles. As in Demosthenes's speech, this kind of account illustrates two points. On the one hand, there is a universal recognition of women possessing power, including having the power to wage war, in the tyrannical or royal dynastic configurations that were well known among the Greeks. From this perspective, the sex of the person concerned is of secondary importance, or is put aside, in favor of other, more important considerations: in this case, the ἀρχή ("command") possessed by the queen. On the other hand, the text

demonstrates a perpetuation of the symbolic representations associated with a distinct division of genders. According to this logic, it is impossible that women could be in power and/or at war; such episodes are an inversion of the desired reality, and thus must be fictitious. They indicate that the men are no longer "real" men. Moreover, the anecdotes repeatedly associate the symbols of the shuttle and the spinning wheel with a conquered man, and military panoply with a female warrior.[26] By making the Rhodians assume this cultural and rhetorical tradition, Vitruvius (or the tradition he adopts) offers them the stamp of Hellenicity: the Rhodians are just as outraged as the Athenians were in the age of Demosthenes. The two share the same values when it comes to the definition of masculine warrior and passive female.

Although the texts of Demosthenes and Vitruvius were written years apart and in very different contexts, they bear witness to the longevity of the same Greek filter, initially classical and then postclassical, imposed on the interpretation of women at war. This rhetorical filter is all the more potent in that it accompanies the construction of what certain people in antiquity perceived as a Hellenic identity: nonbarbarian, masculine, and victorious. In the classical period, this filter already corresponded with an interpretation of reality; it was to be taken up in earnest by postclassical historiography. It may lead later historians to consider it impossible or improbable that a woman could lead an army, because it was thought to have been unacceptable in the past.

Ada I, or the Silence of Ancient Historiography

According to the epigraphic evidence, Idrieus jointly ruled Caria with his wife, Ada I, following the death of Artemisia II in 351 BCE and up until his own death in 343 BCE.[27] Ada I, as did Artemisia II before her, outlived her brother-spouse and so governed the satrapy until she was ousted by her younger brother Pixodarus in 341/340 BCE. She then sought refuge at Alinda, the most redoubtable fortress in Caria, identified in 1847 through coinage found on site at Demirci Deresi, on the eastern slopes of Mt. Latmos.[28] Four years after her flight, the death of Pixodarus brought about an important change: henceforth Orontobates, the Persian brother-in-law of Pixodarus, may have conjointly ruled in the palace with his wife (a conjecture based on previous Hecatomnid practices), who was Ada II, the daughter of Pixodarus and granddaughter of Hecatomnus.

From a military standpoint, an especially interesting event is Alexander's visit to Halicarnassus in 334 BCE. According to most accounts, Orontobates, along with Memnon the Rhodian, defended the city when the Macedonian arrived. Although it is difficult to define the role of Ada II (in Jeppesen's corrected version of

the text, Ada II plays an important role in the defense of Halicarnassus),[29] all sources agree on the role played by her aunt, Ada I, the former queen exiled to Alinda.

Arrian, Diodorus, and Strabo: Ada I at War

Of the four main accounts of the conquests of Alexander the Great, that of Arrian is often considered the most trustworthy, along with that of Plutarch, although Arrian wrote relatively late, in the second century CE. He relates the descent of Alexander on the Persians after his visit to Troy, as well as his assault against Halicarnassus. After fierce resistance, the Persian forces surrendered before the city walls and abandoned the lower city. The partisans of Darius III fell back on the "upper slopes of the town." Alexander then decided to continue his conquests into the heart of the empire in Babylon. He left a few troops in place, which he entrusted to Ptolemy, who was given the mission of continuing the siege and taking Halicarnassus. Arrian then describes how Alexander "entrusted the entire satrapy of Caria to Ada, a daughter of Hecatomnus" (τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν Ἄδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἑκατόμνω, *Anab.* 1.23.7) before explaining that she had been excluded from power by her brother Pixodarus (*Anab.* 1.23.8):

> Ἄδα δὲ Ἄλινδα μόνον κατεῖχε, χωρίον τῆς Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώτατον, καὶ ἐσβαλόντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Καρίαν ἀπήντα, τά τε Ἄλινδα ἐνδιδοῦσα καὶ παῖδά οἱ τιθεμένη Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τά τε Ἄλινδα αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἁλικαρνασσόν τε ἐξεῖλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας ἐπεκράτησεν, αὐτῇ ἄρχειν ἁπάσης ἔδωκε.
>
> Ada meanwhile held only Alinda, the strongest fortress in Caria; and when Alexander entered Caria she went to meet him, surrendering Alinda and adopting Alexander as her son. Alexander gave Alinda to her charge, and did not reject the title of son, and when he had taken Halicarnassus and become master of the rest of Caria, he gave her command [ἄρχειν] of the whole country (trans. Brunt 1976, adapted).

Strabo, writing before Arrian at the beginning of the first century CE, is more precise. He describes Ada I not only as a political ally, but also a military one (Strabo 14.2.17, without the correction of Jeppesen 1986):

> ἐπελθόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολιορκίαν ὑπέμεινεν, ἔχων Ἄδαν γυναῖκα, ἥτις θυγάτηρ ἦν Πιξωδάρου ἐξ Ἀφνηίδος Καππαδοκίσσης γυναικός. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἑκατόμνω θυγάτηρ Ἄδα, ἣν ὁ Πιξώδαρος ἐξέβαλεν, ἱκετεύει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον

καὶ πείθει κατάγειν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν βασιλείαν ὑποσχομένη ἐπὶ τὰ ἀφεστῶτα συμπράξειν αὐτῷ· τοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντας οἰκείους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῇ· παρεδίδου δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἄλινδα, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβεν αὐτή· ἐπαινέσας δὲ καὶ βασίλισσαν ἀναδείξας, ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας (διττὴ δ' ἦν), ἐκείνῃ πολιορκεῖν ἔδωκεν· ἑάλω δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον καὶ ἡ ἄκρα, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἤδη καὶ ἀπέχθειαν τῆς πολιορκίας γενομένης.

And when Alexander came over, the satrap sustained a siege. His wife was Ada, the daughter of Hecatomnos, whom Pixodarus had banished, entreated Alexander and persuaded him to restore her to the kingdom of which she had been deprived, having promised to co-operate with him against the parts of the country which were in revolt, for those who held these parts, she said, were her own relations; and she also gave over to him Alinda, where she herself was residing. He assented and appointed her queen; and when the city, except the acropolis (it was a double city), had been captured, he assigned to her the siege of the acropolis. This too was captured a little later, the siege having now become a matter of anger and personal enmity (trans. H. Jones 1932).

Here, the military role of Ada I is underlined. According to Kristian Jeppesen,[30] it is not only Ada I who intervenes militarily, but also Ada II, the wife of Orontobates and daughter of Pixodarus. The latter would personally have defended the citadel against the attack led by her aunt. This is more or less the version that is related in a somewhat more allusive manner by Pseudo-Callisthenes, the author of the *Alexander Romance* written in the third or fourth century CE.[31]

In the first century CE, Diodorus offers a much more nuanced and ambiguous account in which Ada I only appears before the siege of Halicarnassus. The siege is described as an epic battle of newly minted heroes, Memnon and Ptolemy, pitted against one another in their wrath. Ada I takes a secondary role: "She, a female creature, goes to meet Alexander, using her position in the ruling dynasty of Caria to seek help [βοηθῆσαι, an explicitly military term] from the Macedonian." Diodorus adds that "she received command (ἀρχήν) of Caria and, [that] for having aided this woman (τῆς γυναικός), he won the goodwill of all the people" (ὅντι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀπήντησέν τι γύναιον, ὄνομα μὲν Ἄδα, γένει δὲ προσήκουσα τῇ Καρῶν ἀρχῇ. ἐντυχούσης δ' αὐτῆς περὶ τῆς προγονικῆς δυναστείας καὶ δεηθείσης βοηθῆσαι ταύτην μὲν ἐκέλευσε παραλαβεῖν τὴν τῆς Καρίας ἀρχήν, τοὺς δὲ Κᾶρας ἰδίους ἐποιήσατο ταῖς εὐνοίαις διὰ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης εὐεργεσίαν, Diod. Sic. 17.24.2). Ada I appears as a popular character, the holder of incontestable local power. But the way in which Ada I is portrayed should probably be interpreted as pejorative: while

certainly a useful person, her femininity is characterized as neuter (τι); she is a woman who openly blurs the usual categories of gender.

Plutarch: Ada I, Mother at the Stove

Plutarch, who says nothing about the capture of Halicarnassus,[32] has Ada I make an appearance within a series of paragraphs devoted to demonstrating Alexander's ability to control his passions (ἐγκράτεια), a typically Stoic virtue emphasized by the Second Sophistic.[33] Thus, in the *Life of Alexander*, Alexander can remain unmoved in the presence of the most beautiful Persian women, whom he considered "lifeless statues" (ἀψύχους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων, Plut. *Alex*. 21.11), providing evidence of his mastery over sexual desire. Following the episode of the king's psychological resistance to carnal temptation, Plutarch then tells a story about Ada I, who is presented as a "maternal" temptation: full of concern for the young Macedonian, the exiled queen sends him cakes every day, and then sends him her best cooks and bakers. Plutarch, taking up the tradition known to Diodorus and Strabo, explains that Alexander "might have adopted" Ada I as his mother and restored her to power in Caria. On reflection, however, the young king refuses the queen's treats, claiming that the best morning meal is a walk, while at night nothing is better than a frugal repast.[34]

Plutarch's account of this episode clearly differentiates itself from those of Arrian, Diodorus, and Strabo, who each highlight the initiative of the daughter of Hecatomnus when she meets Alexander, acknowledging her political role (after all, she is in charge of the interior regions of the country) and, at times, even a military one. Only a systematic comparison of Plutarch's treatment of other women in roles of political and military power (an undertaking that is beyond the scope of this chapter) could permit the conclusion that there is a devaluation connected to a specific intellectual logic, that of a radical opposition of social roles according to sex. In sum, this logic would have it that women have no role in war and politics, given that men fulfill this function so well. According to this premise, Queen Ada I is described in a credible position, one that is distinctly feminine, which would not encroach on any of the masculine spheres of power, such as politics and war. Thus Plutarch denies to women, even Carian queens, actions that other authors (such as Arrian and Strabo) openly recognize. The rhetoric of gender, seen at work in Demosthenes and Vitruvius, appears in Plutarch as the only conceivable and intelligible reality in the structure of relations between men and women.

Although the period covering the last of the Hecatomnides is well documented, the literary sources were composed considerably later than the events

they describe: Diodorus Siculus and Strabo wrote in the first century BCE or at the beginning of the first century CE, while Plutarch wrote at the end of the first century CE and Arrian probably in the second century CE. Then there are the sources left by those close to Alexander: the official historians, such as Callisthenes; and the companions and soldiers, such as Ptolemy, Aristobolus, Nearchus, Onesicritus, and Clearchus. To these witnesses of the conquests of Alexander one might add Clitarchus and Colophon, intimates of Ptolemy who could have used primary sources and who followed Timagenes, whose work is now lost but who was extremely influential on later writers. These sources were composed primarily in Alexandria, directly after Alexander's conquests. They were written in the same city where Ptolemy undertook the composition of his own account, as well as the creation of the Museum of Alexandria, the first step in the establishment of the city's great library, accomplished by his son Ptolemy II. It was under such circumstances that the ensuing tradition was born.

Diodorus used the same sources as Plutarch: material compiled at Alexandria by Clitarchus. As Albert Bosworth recognized, it should come as no surprise that in these accounts Ptolemy eclipses the actions of Ada I before the walls of Halicarnassus against the resisting Persian power.[35] The epic of Alexander is that of his generals, the new kings and founders of the Hellenistic dynasties.[36] Strabo and Arrian, however, most likely favored Callisthenes, the official historian of Alexander, who was less dependent on Ptolemy. It is no accident that they give a larger military role to Ada I.[37]

In order to understand the position of Strabo, who most strongly emphasizes the military role of Ada I, I believe it essential to recall that he was originally from the Pontic region. This area was not fully integrated into the Roman Empire until shortly after his birth, following Pompey's first victory in 64 BCE. Strabo is therefore someone who came from a different culture and had different experiences from those Greeks and Romans raised on classicism. He writes favorably about Pythodoris, queen of the Pontic region from 8 BCE onward: "a wise woman and perfectly capable of governing affairs" (Πυθοδωρίς, γυνὴ σώφρων καὶ δυνατὴ προΐστασθαι πραγμάτων, Strabo 12.3.29).[38] Strabo makes no mention of Pythodoris's military activity, but the emphasis he places on her territorial possessions suggests that she was perfectly capable of controlling them by force if necessary. Pythodoris was probably at war, and there is no reason to think that Ada I would not have been as well.

The sources agree in saying that before regaining Halicarnassus, Ada I was entrenched in a particularly impressive military fortress at Alinda, from whence she wielded considerable clout, judging by the numismatic evidence. She cast her lot

in an alliance with Alexander against the Persians' power in Caria-Lycia. Caria was particularly sought after for its strongholds and its fleet—in short, its military potential. It seems difficult not to follow the natural course of these implications and consider that Ada I, exiled against her will, also took up arms. To neglect the role of the last daughter of Hecatomnus underestimates the sources and imposes our own representation of the past—doubtless the product of only a few authors from classical antiquity (such as in the classical rhetoric of Demosthenes)—concerning the possible sharing of military roles in the Aegean basin.

Artemisia I at Salamis: When the Athenian Amazonomachy Provokes Laughter

The literary sources, through their narrative intent and the context of their composition, acquire a variety of interpretations. While this is simple enough to say, it is through an analysis of these layers of meaning that researchers can reveal the military role of the Carian queens. By working back through time, I reconsider in a more "archeological," or less symbolic, way the story in Herodotus about Artemisia I, the queen of Halicarnassus who participated in the battle of Salamis in 480 BCE.

In Book 7 of the *Histories*, Herodotus indicates that he will devote a specific digression in his catalog of the leaders of the Persian naval forces to Artemisia of Halicarnassus, since her deeds are a θαῦμα ("marvel") and are so surprising that they become worthy of memorialization.[39] This is the objective of Herodotus's narrative; as the author announces in his prologue, the purpose of his work is to give an account of the deeds of Greeks and barbarians and of cities great and small.

Artemisia, through her father Lygdamis, is from Halicarnassus, although her mother was Cretan. Above all, she is the commander of the city and the fleet, although she a woman, a widow, and a mother.[40] She assuredly had a child of military age (νεηνίης) and therefore does not correspond to the modern figure of a regent. Thus Artemisia's decision to participate in the battle herself is all the more admirable. Herodotus, a native of Halicarnassus, was born at the time of Artemisia's exploits, and undoubtedly he used local accounts. The *logos* of Artemisia resembles the tradition of individual exploits, an archaic tradition that endured into the Hellenistic and imperial periods.[41]

Although it is impossible to verify what took place in the waters of Salamis, it is equally impossible to treat this episode as pure fiction.[42] Moreover, other accounts (the *Πρεσβευτικός* attributed to Hippocrates, and the statue of Mausolus) mention the military activities of the queen or the overwhelmingly positive re-

ception of her activity in Halicarnassus.[43] Herodotus's narrative about Artemisia, related in Book 8, is well known. In 480 BCE, aboard her warship in the bay of Salamis, she was pursued by Athenian vessels. Artemisia made her vessel abruptly come about and rammed an allied Persian vessel. Her Athenian pursuers therefore abandoned pursuit, thinking that the ship they had been following was fighting on their side. The Great King, Xerxes, who was watching the scene from afar, thought his ally Artemisia had sunk a Greek ship. The general confusion was to Artemisia's benefit: she saved her own life and earned considerable admiration from Xerxes.

Generally speaking, the interpretations of this episode lead back to the realm of the symbolic. According to some researchers, the character of Artemisia permits Herodotus to describe Xerxes as a feminine being, according to the logic of inversion in a highly polarized system of thought.[44] One scholar uniquely sees Artemisia as a symbol of Themistocles and his cunning; of Athens and its individualistic policies at the heart of the Delian League; and even of Herodotus himself, free to give any account he likes without worrying about pleasing someone in particular.[45]

Why is this story considered a θαῦμα? Is it because Artemisia was considered a masculine woman, or because her sex might have caused problems for certain of her contemporaries?[46] In order to answer this question, I go to the end of the passage, the epilogue of the Salamis *logos*. Herodotus explains that the Athenian trierarchs received an order to capture the queen because it was "intolerable" to see a woman fighting at the gates of Athens (δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι, 8.93). If the historian from Halicarnassus chose to speak of Artemisia at Salamis—since he had already mentioned that she accomplished ἔργα ("deeds of war") near Artemision (8.68)—it is certainly because the famous battle of Salamis had earned Athens her fame[47] and required Herodotus's contemporaries to submit to the Delian League. By relating the failure of the trierarchs at Salamis, the episode takes on a derisory interpretation: on the occasion of the most famous victory of the Athenians against the Persians, the victorious Athenians were deceived by a woman, who ridiculed them just as she had Xerxes.

Although Xerxes was in a position to see the battle unfold before him, he failed to make out precisely what had happened. His false conclusion did not reflect well on him or his army: "The men in my service have become women and the women have become men" (Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες, Hdt. 8.88). For their part, the Athenians witness their hero of Salamis, Ameinas of Pallene (one of the three who received the Greek palm for best fighter), being ridiculed in Herodotus's account. Ameinas is "the one who

pursued Artemisia. If he had noticed Artemisia on this ship, he would not have stopped before he had taken her or had himself been taken" (ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. Εἰ μέν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἶλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλω, Hdt. 88.93). From this vantage point the hero is an antihero, beaten without a fight by Artemisia.

The mockery is perfectly targeted. The vocabulary used to explain the pursuit of Artemisia by the Athenians is borrowed from the heroic tradition: there, one speaks of ἄεθλον ("contest") and κλέος ("renown"). The δεινόν ("terrible") effect stirred by Artemisia's presence in the Persian fleet denotes an almost supernatural fear: a danger that threatens the social norms of gender, even when understood in the hindsight of Herodotean fiction. Above all, this fear is laughable. Could these new myths celebrating the Amazonomachy of the Athenians be the target of implicit sarcasm?[48] Further on, Herodotus cites the Athenian version of the collective battle against the Amazons,[49] and several years later, Artemisia is explicitly associated with the Amazons.[50]

Herodotus presents Artemisia as a military commander comparable in every way with a man. Her sex has no bearing on her views; she uses the same war rhetoric one would expect to hear from a male commander. She speaks (or, rather, Herodotus makes her speak) as a member of the elite. She is one of the wise counselors who advise the powerful, as Solon did for Croesus, Sandanis Cyrus, and then Croesus Cyrus.[51] Elsewhere, the other heads of Xerxes's army listen to her either in astonishment or admiration, divided in their opinions by jealousy or envy, the characteristic sentiments governing relations in the Persian court. Artemisia is within the inner circle surrounding the king, and while she frustrates some by her proximity to him, others admire her for the same reason. As with the other heads of contingents of the Persian Empire, the Greeks of Asia perceive her as a commanding warrior more than as a woman. It is the Athenians who view her as a woman first and foremost, and who, to some extent, overdetermine the role of her sex.

In Sparta, there is a portico in the agora representing the defeated chiefs of the Second Median War. It includes Artemisia. A notice in Vitruvius (1.1.6), the first mention of this particular Spartan στοά ("portico"), affirms that it was built after the battle of Plataea in 479 BCE, and that Persian figures supported the roof in the manner of caryatides. Later, Pausanias mentions it in the second century CE. The late date of the references to this portico might indicate that it was an archaizing monument whose meaning could be linked to imperial propaganda, situating the Roman conquests in the continuity of the struggles against the barbarians. Whether or not this edifice dates to the fifth century BCE, the sex

of the queen no longer merits special attention. She is depicted alongside the other generals—notably Mardonius, who was slain at Plataea—on a structure marking the valor of the Spartan victors. By singling out the Athenians in his account of Artemisia and portraying them as fools in the farce of Salamis, Herodotus undoubtedly aimed to please other Greek cities, the Aegean islands, or the Greeks of Asia Minor. They certainly had good reason to complain about the Athenian pretentions to hegemony, which the Athenians wished to illustrate, among other displays, by their retelling of the myth of the Amazons.[52]

Plutarch completely disregards this distanced and slightly mocking view constructed around the polarization of gender, which one might call a "sex-based division."[53] The erudite Chaeronian is the only one of the sources who takes the time to contradict Herodotus's version. The conflict between the historiography of Plutarch and Herodotus is well known,[54] but its repercussions on our way of interpreting relations between men and women in the classical world have not been sufficiently underlined.

Plutarch questions the credibility of Artemisia because she advises Mardonius with truths only a prophetess could have known.[55] On her return to Asia, the Great King entrusts Artemisia with the mission of escorting to Ephesus those of his children who had accompanied him on his campaign. What is so extraordinary about this, Plutarch asks his readers? To be a woman to whom a man has entrusted his children? Surely this is to be expected of a woman.[56] Plutarch's only mention of an act of Artemisia related to the war is found in his *Life of Themistocles*. There, Artemisia brought back to Xerxes the body of Ariamenes, who fell overboard during the battle of Salamis.[57] Herodotus merely signals the death of this chief (a brother to the king whom Herodotus calls Ariabignes).[58] Plutarch's account serves only to present Artemisia in a subaltern role: she has nothing of the warrior about her. The real warriors are Themistocles and Ariamenes, staged in a narrative of epic proportion.

Conclusion

These examples demonstrate the extent to which contemporary scholars must deconstruct a sex-based division. This division should by no means be taken literally, because it was already used rhetorically by those in antiquity, such as Demosthenes in his depiction of Artemisia II at Rhodes. The rhetorical and ideological filter, however, continued into the postclassical period, notably in Plutarch, who did his utmost to ensure that Artemisia at Salamis should not be taken seriously, any more than Ada I was elsewhere in his account. Thus research on the Carian queens of the fourth century has a twofold purpose. First,

we may better understand how these women were the models for the Hellenistic queens who succeeded them.[59] Second, they offer an opportunity to look back and carefully reconsider the possibility that from the archaic or classical period onward, some women at war were valued in antiquity.[60]

Registering the points of view often implicitly expressed in the sources should encourage us, as modern historians, to inquire into the blind spots of our own research. For does not a belief in the impossible presence of women on the battlefields of antiquity come from our unconscious adherence to an ideology formulated in the fourth century BCE by Demosthenes, according to a logic of gender which would see—and still sometimes sees—women primarily as the producers of children, rather than as individuals capable of assuming different functions, which is what they were (and are) in reality?

NOTES

1. Sebillotte Cuchet 2012a.

2. Payen 2004: 18 reinserts the concept of women at war, but not in combat. In this volume, Payen (chapter 12) offers a new proposition by reintroducing women into war, but only on the side of men and never against them. Hazewindus 2004: 18–20 underlines the contradictions in historiography regarding this theme of the generalized exclusion of women on the battlefield.

3. See Georgoudi (chapter 11) and her convincing discussion about the notion of reversal.

4. Pausanias 2.29.8–10, 4.21.6–11, 8.5.9; Plutarch 245D; see also Loraux 1989: 280–3. Contra Schaps 1982: 212: "the women with whom we are dealing are real ones, not literary characters invented by men," and "men and women of the city were partners in war."

5. Contra Munson 2001: 123–32, who emphasizes that the logic of inversion is not applied in the case of Herodotus's treatment of the Amazon warriors coming from the Sauromates, and, according to her, in no case in Herodotus's *Inquiry*. See Munson 2001: 132: "Representing the product of Herodotus' historical and ethnographic research, the Sauromatian logos shows that the Amazons were neither wild, nor violent, nor cowardly, nor gutless, nor eager to enslave, nor ignorant of justice, nor the enemies of the race of men. Here, as elsewhere in the work, female is not the antithesis of male, barbarian is not the antithesis of Greek, and the alternative of conquering or being conquered appears invalid." I have developed a similar idea in Sebillotte Cuchet 2013.

6. Thémélis 1998: 65–8, his figs. 17–18, 2001: 207. Fröhlich 2008: 205 proposes dating the inscription to the very end of the third century BCE. Thémélis 2010: 215–216 adds two names to the list of the war dead, Arestrata and Nikoteles.

7. Fröhlich 2008: 204–8.

8. See Pillonel 2008 for an inventory of the ways to wage war when one is queen.

9. Hornblower 1982: 353.

10. Carney 2005: passim.

11. Jeppesen 1986: passim.

12. Sebillotte Cuchet 2012b.

13. Sebillotte Cuchet 2009b, 2011.

14. Diodorus 16.36.2; Strabo 14.2.16. See also Benda-Weber 2005: 321–2; Bockisch 1970: 134–8; Robert 1937: 574.

15. Carney 2005: 66. The sources on Mausolus do not permit such a marked discrepancy in the way we treat royal power. The same pattern, however, exists among Hellenistic rulers. For example, see Widmer 2008: passim.

16. Carlier 1995: 83–4.

17. Demaratus's reply to Darius is a perfect example of the mastery of this kind of rhetoric. See Herodotus 7.104.

18. Carlier 1980: 87 assembles the evidence and establishes a date of 353 BCE for this episode.

19. Demosthenes 15.11–2.

20. On the complicated relations between the Hecatomnids and the Achaemenids, see Briant 1996: 689.

21. Carlier 1980: 83–4.

22. Vitruvius 2.8.14–5.

23. Berthold 1978: passim; Hornblower 1982: 129–39.

24. Carney 2005: 67–8; Gros 1999: 141–4.

25. We find them again in Polyaenus 8.53 (Artemisia II), 7.23 (Mausolus), and 6.8 (Egyptus).

26. Herodotus 4.162; Polyaenus 8.53, 7.23, 6.8.

27. Carney 2005: 68.

28. Bosworth 1980: 154; Robert and Robert 1954: 290n2.

29. Jeppesen 1986: 93, 113.

30. Jeppesen 1986: 92–3 rejects the correction accepted by the majority of editors of Strabo's text, who change the manuscript's διττήν to διττὴ δ'ἦν. According to Jeppesen, the term διττ- is applied not to the city of Halicarnassus, but to Ada. He therefore proposes to read the text as: Ἐπαινέσας δὲ καὶ βασίλισσαν <Ἄδαν> ἀναδείξας, ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας, αὐτῇ ἐκείνην πολιορκεῖν ἔδωκεν; and to translate this as: "And assenting and appointed Ada queen he [Alexander] commissioned her, when all the city except the citadel had been taken, to besiege the above-mentioned Ada. And she was captured, and so a little later was the citadel, the siege having become a matter of anger and personal hatred."

31. Pseudo-Callisthenes *Alexander Romance* 24.

32. Plutarch *Alexander* 17.2.

33. Plutarch *Mor.* 127B, 180A, 1099V.

34. Plutarch *Alexander* 22.7–10: Ἄδαν . . . ἣν ἐποιήσατο μητέρα καὶ Καρίας βασίλισσαν ἀπέδειξεν. ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνη φιλοφρονουμένη πολλὰ μὲν ὄψα καθ'

ἡμέραν ἀπέστελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ πέμματα, τέλος δὲ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι δεινοτάτους ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ ἀρτοποιούς, ἔφη τούτων μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι· βελτίονας γὰρ ὀψοποιοὺς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λεωνίδου δεδομένους αὐτῷ, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ὀλιγαριστίαν.

35. Bosworth 1980: 151–4.

36. See Vidal-Naquet 1984: 330–2. See also Goukowsky 1978: esp. 136–47.

37. Bosworth 1980: 152 underlines that Callisthenes could have been the common source for Arrian and Strabo 14.2.17.

38. Konstan 2002: passim.

39. Munson 1988: 81 speaks of the freedom of the queen as the most wonderful aspect of her story.

40. Other sources (Hippocrates *Presbeutikos*; Pausanias; Polyaenus *De mulieribus*) only mention Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, and never connect her power to her dead husband, but instead always link it to her father. A single exception is the *Suda*, which mentions the name of her husband, Mausolus.

41. Géra 1997: passim; Weil 1976: 215–8.

42. Fehling 1989: 127.

43. See the discussion of these accounts in Jeppesen 1981; Jouanna 1984; Nelson 2005.

44. Weil 1976: 219–20 puts this polarization on the level of representations. Harrell 2003 and Tourraix 1991: 378 consider it as structuring fifth-century society. See also Blok 2002. Visconti 2002: 71 makes the link between this polarization and classical Athens.

45. Munson 1988, 2001.

46. Hornblower 1982: 24; Munson 1988: 93.

47. Herodotus 7.139.

48. The saga of the Athenians against the Amazons, attested in the 460s, goes back perhaps no further than the Median Wars, and no earlier than the late sixth century BCE. See Blok 1995: 182, 198.

49. Herodotus 9.27.

50. Aristophanes *Lys*. 675–8.

51. Herodotus 1.32, 71, 87.

52. On this latter point, see also the political use of the Amazons in cities in Asia Minor, especially at Ephesos, in Hölscher 1998: 172–3, 2000: passim.

53. See Payen (chapter 12).

54. Boudou 2007: passim.

55. Plutarch *Mor.* 869F 38.

56. Plutarch *Mor.* 869F 38.

57. Plutarch *Themistocles* 14.3–4.

58. Herodotus 8.89.

59. Carney 2005: 65.

60. The author would like to express her gratitude to Susan Dunning for correcting the Greek texts and bibliographical references cited in this chapter.

Fulvia

The Representation of an Elite Roman Woman Warrior

JUDITH HALLETT

Long after her lifetime, which ended in 40 BCE, the Roman noblewoman Fulvia—in turn wife of the demagogue Publius Clodius Pulcher, Clodius's friend Gaius Scribonius Curio, and Curio's friend, the triumvir whom we English speakers call Mark Antony—was remembered as a formidable figure and, frequently, as a fighting figure.[1] Over fifty years after she died, the Roman historian Velleius Paterculus described her as *nihil muliebre praeter corpus gerens* ("bearing nothing female about her except for her body"), and claimed that *omnia armis tumultuque miscebat* ("she mixed disorder of all kinds with military weapons and uproar," *Historiae Romanae* 2.74). In his biography of Mark Antony, which postdates Fulvia's death by a century and a half, the Greek writer Plutarch characterized her as a woman "who desired to govern those who governed and to command a commander-in-chief."[2] Two hundred years after Fulvia breathed her last, two later historians made similar assertions about her. Appian spoke of her as an "interfering" (πολυπραγμονός, *Bella Civilia* 5.59) woman who had stirred up a disastrous war because she was jealous of Cleopatra. Cassius Dio related that she "would gird herself with a sword, give out the watchword to the soldiers, and frequently harangue them" (*Roman History* 48.103–4).

All of these later authors emphasize Fulvia's military involvement in the Perusine conflict, which took place in 41 BCE, the year before her death.[3] In Antony's absence, she—along with Antony's agent Manius and Antony's brother Lucius, consul that same year—waged this war against his fellow triumvir Octavian, later known as Augustus. But Fulvia's representation as a woman warrior and a commanding personality, by sources who were alive at the same time she was will receive special attention in the discussion to follow.

Some Contemporary Sources on Fulvia

One important text from Fulvia's own lifetime that portrays her as confrontational and bellicose is a six-line poem written by Octavian himself to justify the Perusine War. Scholars owe its survival to a first century CE epigrammatist who himself bore the "military" *cognomen* of Martialis. He identifies this poem as the work of "Augustus Caesar" (11.20) before quoting it. Octavian composed these verses, which can also be dated to Fulvia's lifetime, in the same elegiac meter as a poem by his own celebrated military adjutant, Cornelius Gallus. This latter work, unearthed during the late 1970s in Egypt, where Gallus served as prefect before ending his own life in 26 BCE, is also of relevance to a study of Fulvia, although Gallus's poem—unlike that of Martial—does not mention her. In Gallus's poem (dated to the months preceding Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE), he addresses—as *domina* ("mistress")—his own beloved, the mime actress Volumnia Cytheris, herself a one-time lover of Fulvia's final husband, Mark Antony. Gallus calls Cytheris by her metrically equivalent, literarily resonant pseudonym Lycoris.[4]

These contemporary sources about Fulvia consist of material objects as well as literary texts. Of particular interest in this chapter are actual weapons of war: *glandes*, inscribed sling-bullets, made of lead, from the siege of Perusia.[5] Others are coins, dated from 44 through 40 BCE, from far-flung parts of the Roman world—Lugdunum, Eumeneia, and Tripolis—thought by many scholars to depict Fulvia as the goddess Nike, personification of military victory.[6]

Other literary testimony from Fulvia's own time includes Cicero's correspondence and, most notably, his *Philippics*, a series of orations fulminating against Mark Antony and vilifying both Fulvia and Cytheris as they do so. Cicero paid for these words with his life, and—according to Cassius Dio—the desecration of his severed head and face at Fulvia's hands (47.8.4). This testimony also includes an unflattering remark about Fulvia's own face, uttered by a friend of Antony's, the rhetorical expert Sextus Clodius, and quoted by Suetonius in his *De Rhetoribus*. Yet another contemporary source on Fulvia is Cornelius Nepos, the dedicatee of Catullus's first poem. Nepos's biography of Cicero's close friend Titus Pomponius Atticus offers a sympathetic, and for this reason atypical, glimpse of Fulvia's final years.

My discussion focuses on these contemporary sources about Fulvia, especially those that contributed to her later image as the archetypal "wicked matron."[7] I consider how these sources help account for her involvement in the masculine sphere of war by emphasizing her self-assertive and antagonistic

ways. Most of these sources disparage these traits, as we will see, and hence discredit her military involvements. My contention is that these strategies of disparagement by Fulvia's contemporaries, which clearly affect her later portrayals by Velleius Paterculus, Plutarch, Appian, and Cassius Dio, are also influenced by, and indeed represent, powerful, fictionalizing, elegiac, and epigrammatic Roman literary conventions.

I claim that these sources from Fulvia's own time, among them those representing Fulvia as a woman warrior, depict this thrice-wed, elite matron as similar to fictionalized female figures portrayed as exercising (or seeking to exercise) control over men outside the realm of marriage. Indeed, I argue that this body of testimony not only casts Fulvia in the role of the erotically powerful, valued *domina* celebrated by Catullus, Gallus, and in subsequent Roman elegy, but that it also depicts her as resembling sexually available and experienced, yet aggressive and unappealing women vilified in Catullan invective. In this way, such sources blur distinctions between an independently attested Roman historical figure and what Maria Wyke has termed "the written women" of Latin love poetry: literary characters who are themselves associated, albeit figuratively, with war-making as a trope for love.[8] Hence these contemporary portraits of Fulvia also raise questions about how to distinguish—and even if one should distinguish—between allegedly factual history and evidently imaginative poetry as evidence for the lived realities and public images of Roman women.

Fulvia's Depiction by Octavian (in Martial 11.20) and the *glandes Perusinae*

I begin by examining, and contextualizing, two contemporary representations of Fulvia that share such significant features as meter, sexual vocabulary, and figurative language with Catullan poems of love and invective, poems centered on women he adores, or reviles, or both. Martial characterizes the six verses by Augustus Caesar about Fulvia that he quotes as *lasciuos* ("bawdy"). As Octavian wrote these verses to justify his declaration of war against Fulvia, so Martial himself repeats Octavian's verses, which he applauds for "Roman frankness," to justify his own use of primary obscenities (Martial 11.20):

Caesaris Augusti lasciuos, liuide, uersus
    Sex lege, qui tristis uerba Latina legis.
"Quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam
    Fuluia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.
Fuluiam ego ut futuam? Quid si me Manius oret 5

Pedicem, faciam? Non puto, si sapiam.
'Aut futue, aut pugnemus' ait. Quid quod mihi uita
Carior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant!"
Absoluis lepidos nimirum, Augusti libellos,
Qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui. 10

Read six bawdy verses of Augustus Caesar, ill-tempered one, you who read Latin words in a disapproving mood. "Because Antony fucked Glaphyra, Fulvia decided on this punishment from me, that I also fuck her. That I am to fuck Fulvia? What if Manius were to beg me to fuck him in the asshole, would I do that? Not, I think, if I should have any taste. 'Either fuck or let's fight,' she said. Why deny that my prick is dearer to me than life itself? Let the war trumpets sound!" Augustus, you marvelously get my charming little books of poetry off the hook, you who know how to speak with Roman frankness.

Each line of Octavian's epigram quoted by Martial is both bawdy and frank, containing one primary obscenity: *futuit, futuam, futuam, pedicem, futue, mentula*. The language and meter of these verses suggest a date around the time of the Perusine War (and therefore a mere four years later than the Gallus papyrus fragment).[9]

Significantly, all three of Octavian's obscene words—*futuo*, *pedico*, and *mentula*—appear in the poetry of Catullus, generally dated to the 50s BCE. Catullus opens and closes poem 16 by threatening his addressees, Furius and Aurelius—*pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo* ("I will fuck you in the anus and in your mouth"); refers to Caesar's aide Mamurra as a *diffututa mentula* ("fucked-out prick," 29.14); and claims to have revenge on a foul-smelling, gout-ridden rival *quotiens futuit* ("however often he fucks," 71.5). Moreover, he describes Mamurra's lady-love Ameana as a *diffututa puella* ("fucked-out girl," 41.1)

It warrants note as well that comparable obscenities, nearly all with Catullan pedigrees, are scratched on the sling-bullets that are categorized among the Latin inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (11.6721.305.14).[10] These words insult Octavian as well as Fulvia. In addition to calling Octavian "Octavia," using the feminine gender, the *glandes* refer to him with the Greek word *pathicus* ("phallically penetrable"). They accuse him of "cock-sucking" (*fel[l]as*); they name his *culus* ("anus") as their target and term it *laxus* ("loose"), presumably through repeated stretching from penetration.[11]

No less significant, these accusations have a learned literary dimension. I have argued that these sling-bullets and the texts that they display function as a playful kind of pun often found in the epigrams of Catullus, Martial, and the

Carmina Priapea. They take aim at the same ultimate resting places as those sought by the poetic Priapus—or by Catullus and Martial in sexually menacing instances—because the word *glans* was the technical Latin term for "lead sling-bullet" and "penis tip," which shared a shape. Some of these *glandes* even contain crude sketches of the male organ.[12]

But the *glandes* also target Fulvia's *landica* ("clitoris") and *culus*, and label her "the enemy" in addition to—or instead of—the actual commander at Perusia, her brother-in-law Lucius Antonius.[13] Just as the sling-bullets masculinize Fulvia by calling her their military foe, and by aiming at a protuberant portion of her genitalia associated (by Martial, among others) with the male organ, Octavian's verses portray Fulvia as engaging in self-assertive, conventionally Roman male conduct.[14] They claim that she took the sexual initiative with Octavian only to retaliate against Antony, because of his sexual relationship with the Cappadocian queen Glaphyra. It is still more significant that they claim that she forced Octavian to choose between having sex with her and waging war against her. In other words, Octavian represents Fulvia as adopting an either/or, "my way or the highway" confrontational stance. Octavian declares that he responded in kind: by adopting a confrontational counterstance, rejecting Fulvia's physical charms—along with her erotic overtures—as unworthy of his *mentula*, terming sex with her a "punishment," and ordering the "war trumpets to sound." He also masculinizes Fulvia by comparing the act of vaginally penetrating her with that of anally penetrating her husband's male agent.

We find Catullus making similar, equally insulting statements about women who exhibit sexually self-assertive behavior toward him. Consider, for example, poem 41, where he refers to an Ameana, identified as the girlfriend of Caesar's aide Mamurra, as a *diffututa* ("fucked-out") *puella*. He denigrates Ameana's physical appeal by calling her "that girl with a nose that is a little bit disgusting" (*ista turpiculo puella naso*, 41.3) and by alleging that "she is not accustomed to ask her reflecting bronze looking-glass what sort of woman she is" (*nec rogare / qualis sit solet aes imaginosum*, 41.7–8). He claims that she made an inappropriate demand on him for her sexual favors by insisting on a huge sum (*tota milia me decem poposcit*, 41.2).

Yet the sexually self-assertive conduct that Octavian's verses attribute to Fulvia also resembles the imperious behavior that Catullus at times ascribes to—and accepts in—the woman he portrays himself as loving. In his lengthy elegy 68, Catullus uses both the noun *domina* itself (*isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam*: "he gave us a house and he gave us its mistress," 68.68) and its synonym *era* ("mistress of slaves," 68.136) for his beloved, presumably Lesbia;

he also calls her a "shining goddess" (*candida diua*, 68.70). He voices worries about offending her and becoming "overly annoying, in the fashion of fools," when promising to endure her secret sexual liaisons with other men (68.135–141):

Quae tamen etsi uno non est contenta Catullo
  Rara uerecundae furta feremus erae,
Ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti,
  Saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolarum
Coniugis in culpa flagrantem contudit iram,
  Noscens omniuoli plurima furta Iouis.
Atque nec diuis homines componier aequumst.

Although she, however, is not satisfied with Catullus alone, we will endure the infrequent sexual liaisons of our modest mistress, so that we may not be overly annoying in the fashion of fools. Often even Juno, greatest of the heaven-dwellers, has beaten down her blazing anger about the misbehavior of her spouse, upon learning of the extremely numerous secret sexual liaisons of the all-desirous Jove. But it is not fair to compare mortals with gods.

What is more, he likens his own circumstances to those of a goddess other than his beloved: Juno, wed to the "all-desirous," philandering Jove.[15]

But in other poems Catullus reviles Lesbia herself, insulting her in the same way that he does Ameana in poem 41. At times, moreover, he acknowledges his previous feelings of adoration for her, even as he reviles her (37.1–15):

Salax taberna uosque contubernales,
A pilleatis nona fratribus pila,
Solis putatis esse mentulas uobis.
Solis licere, quidquid es puellularum,
Confutuere et putere ceteros hircos?
An, continenter quod sedetis insulsi
Centum an ducenti, non putatis ausurum
Me una ducentos irrumare sessores?
Atque putate: nam totius uobis
Frontem tabernae sopionibus scribam.
Puella nam mi, quae meo sinu fugit,
Amata tantum quantum amabitur nulla,
Pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata,
Consedit istic. Hanc boni beatique
Omnes amatis.

> Hypersexed drinking joint, and all of you who hang out there, nine building fronts down from the temple of Castor and Pollux, do you think that you alone are allowed to have pricks, and that you alone are allowed to fully fuck whatever girls there are, and that the rest of us stink like goats? Or because you low-lifes sit in a line, 100 or 200 in number, do you think I would not dare to fuck all 200 of you sitting there in the mouth? And think about it, for I will mark up the front of this whole dive with pictures of your pricks. For my girl, who has fled from my embrace, loved as much as no other woman will be loved, on whose behalf great wars were waged by me, has settled there. And you all, you good and blessed men, love her.

The poem begins by employing such primary obscenities as *mentula* and *confutuere* when addressing, and characterizing, the male habitués of a *salax taberna* ("hypersexed drinking joint") as "you who now love (*amatis*) his *puella*." It proceeds to impugn her reputation by associating her with these "low-lifes." Yet at 37.12 Catullus repeats, verbatim, line 5 from another poem (poem 8) by referring to her as *amata tantum quantum amabitur nulla* ("having been loved as much as no woman will be loved," 8.5; 37.12). Curiously, Catullus uses the language of waging war to characterize his past relationship with her, but in a figurative sense: *pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata* ("[the woman], on whose behalf great wars were waged by me").

To be sure, the six verses in which Octavian explains his decision to wage literal war against Fulvia cannot be said to exalt her. Nevertheless, they represent her as acting in a "high and mighty" independent fashion, much as Catullus portrays his inamorata in poem 68. These verses also depict Fulvia as having taken the sexual initiative with Octavian, much as Catullus portrays his *puella* as seeking out multiple partners in the *salax taberna*.

In endeavoring to connect the *Perusinae glandes*—which insult Octavian as effeminate and sexually passive and Fulvia as masculine and emasculating—with the epigram quoted by Martial, I have previously suggested that Octavian wrote these verses to counter precisely the kind of charges hurled, and precisely the image projected, by these bullets: charges that he was lacking in manly qualities, an image of womanlike weakness. Allegations (albeit from later sources) about the social, military, and sexual shortcomings of Octavian at this time do much to explain these accusations and account for this image.[16]

For example, Suetonius relates that the young Octavian had incurred disgrace and derision—from Mark Antony, among others—for his homoerotically passive and womanish doings (Suet. *Augustus* 68):

> Prima iuuenta uariorum dedecorum infamiam subiit. Sextus Pompeius ut effeminatum insectatus est. M. Antonius adoptionem auunculi stupro meritum; item L, Marci frater, quam pudicitiam delibatam a Caesare Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substrauerit.
>
> In his early youth he acquired a bad reputation for different disgraceful acts. Sextus Pompey attacked him as womanish; Mark Antony charged that he had gotten adopted by his great-uncle as a result of sexually shameful conduct; likewise Antony's brother Lucius, who claimed that he gave his chastity, after it has been tasted by Caesar, to Aulus Hirtius in Spain for thirty thousand sesterces.

Furthermore, the elder Pliny records, on the authority of Octavian's own friends Agrippa and Maecenas, Octavian's cowardly behavior at the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE (*Natural History* 7.148).

Most important, both Suetonius (*Augustus* 62.1) and Cassius Dio (48.5.2.3) attest that in 41 BCE, after Octavian married Fulvia's barely nubile daughter by her first husband Clodius, he then returned the bride "untouched and still a virgin." In the light of the questions raised at the time about Octavian's manliness, one might infer that Octavian had been unable to consummate the marriage physically. Whatever Octavian's reasons for treating her daughter in this way, by the time the Perusine War began, Fulvia would have been his ex-mother-in-law. While his representation of Fulvia as both sexually and militarily aggressive may have sought to enhance his own historical reputation as a male warrior, it also managed to assimilate Fulvia into the fictionalized females of Catullus's erotic and invective verse.

Fulvia's Depiction by Cicero in his *Philippics*

Cicero's representation of Fulvia in the *Philippics* operates to similar effect. When describing how Antony reunited with Fulvia after ending his liaison with Cytheris, Cicero assigns Antony and Fulvia leading roles in an engaging dramatic and erotic scenario. Cicero wrote his *Philippics* from September 44 BCE through April 43 BCE, two years before the Perusine War. They do not portray Fulvia as a woman warrior.[17] Nevertheless, like Octavian's six verses in elegiac couplets, Cicero's scenario shares features with Catullus's earlier amatory and invective poetry, as well as with later, extended, first-person elegiac narratives starring formidable female figures.

Both the events that Cicero relates and the language that he employs in this scenario merit our scrutiny (*Philippics* 2.31.77–8):

At uidete levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra uenisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotauit ad uesperam: inde cisio celeriter ad urbem aduectus domum uenit capite obuoluto. Ianitor: "Quis tu: A Marco tabellarius." Confestim ad eam, cuius causa uenerat, deducitur eique epistulam tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret flens (erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse), cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit, caput aperuit, in collum inuasit. O hominem nequam! Quid enim aliud dicam? Magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo, ut te catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti? Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L Plancus praedes tuos uenderet.

But look at the man's lack of seriousness. When he had come to the Red Rocks at about the tenth hour of the day, he lurked at a nameless little drinking joint and, hiding himself there, imbibed away until evening fell; then, speedily whisked to the city in a small carriage, came to his home with his head veiled. The doorkeeper said, "Who are you?" "A courier from Marcus." He is immediately led to her, on whose account he had come, and handed over a letter to her. When she, weeping, read it (for it was written in an amatory style: the gist of the letter was that he would have nothing more to do with that mime actress in the future, that he had cast off all of his love toward that object and poured his love into her), when the woman was crying more copiously, the pitying man was not able to stand it, uncovered his head, and fell onto her neck. O worthless man! What else am I to say? I am not able to say anything more appropriately. Therefore so that the woman might catch sight of you, pretty boozing boy, when you had showed yourself unexpectedly, exceeding her hope, for that reason did you terrorize the city with nightly fright, and Italy with fear, for many days? And indeed you had love as an excuse in your home, and also a more disgusting excuse outside, that Lucius Plancus might not sell your sureties.

To be sure, Cicero relates this tale mainly to ridicule the marital relationship of Antony and Fulvia. After providing what he views as the salient details of their reunion on this occasion, he addresses Antony, employing a series of verbs, pronouns, and a possessive adjective in the second-person singular to intensify his sarcastic tone.[18] Cicero may well have embroidered these details, if not fabricated the whole episode outright. Yet these details do recall those in earlier, and

foreshadow those in later, poetic representations of extramarital amatory encounters, both successful and others unsuccessful, including an elegy that makes frequent use of military metaphors to depict a passionate reconciliation between two lovers.

After all, the *cauponula* ("nameless little drinking joint") where Antony hides out before paying his surprise visit to Fulvia recalls the *salax taberna* described by Catullus (in poem 37) as habituated by hundreds of men who enjoy the sexual favors of his *puella*. The domestic setting where the disguised Antony and tearful Fulvia renew their mutual love calls to mind the *domus* (with its *domina*) described elsewhere by Catullus (68.67–8), furnished to him so that he and his beloved might express "reciprocal passions" (*communes amores*). The emotionally charged, unexpected reunion of husband and wife also has features in common with the reunion that Catullus celebrates with Lesbia (107.1–6):

Sicui quid cupido optantique optigit umquam
Inspiranti, hoc est gratum animo proprie
Quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque, carius auro
Quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido
Restituis cupido atque insperanti, ipsa refers te
Nobis: o lucem candidiore nota!

If anything ever happened to anyone desirously wishing and not hoping, that is truly pleasing to the mind. For this reason this is also pleasing to us, more precious than gold, that you return yourself back to me desiring you, Lesbia, you return yourself to me desiring and not hoping, you bring yourself back to me, o day celebrated with more shining mark.

Just as important, this scenario has several features in common with that of a poem written over two decades later. In elegy 4.8, Propertius relates how his beloved Cynthia surprised him one night, unexpectedly returning to Rome after abandoning him for another lover (Propertius 4.8.55ff.):

Fulminat illa oculis et quantum femina saeuit
Spectaclum capta nec minus urbe fuit
. . . . . .
Cynthia gaudet in exuuiis uictrixque recurrit
Et mea peruersa sauciat ora manu
Imponitque notam collo morsuque cruentat.
Praecipue oculos, qui meruere, ferit
. . . . . .

Lygdame, nec potui? Tecum ego captus eram
Supplicibus palmis tum demum ad foedera ueni,
Cum uix tangendos praebuit ille pedes.
Atque ita mutato per singula palla lecto
Respondi, et noto soluimus arma toto. 70

She flashed fire from her eyes, and raged as much as a woman can. The sight was no less than that of a captured city . . . Cynthia rejoices in her spoils, and returns as a conqueror, and wounds my face with her cruel hand, and puts a tooth mark on my neck and makes it bloody with her bite, and especially hits my eyes, which deserved this treatment. Lygdamus, I was helpless: I had been captured with you. Then finally I came to making a treaty with suppliant palms, when she offered her feet to be barely touched . . . And thus with the bed having been changed, sheet by sheet, I answered, and we resolved our war-making on our favorite couch.

The language of war looms large in this passage. Likening Cynthia's return to a military siege, Propertius describes how, when she found him consorting with two female partners (who flee to a nearby tavern, or *taberna*), she inflicted painful physical punishments—on his face, neck, and eyes in particular—before he surrendered and the two renewed their passion. This figurative portrayal of love as a form of warfare occurs frequently in Augustan Latin elegy and is explored and elaborated in detail by Ovid (*Amores* 1.9).

Cicero's effort to ridicule the marital relationship between Antony and Fulvia—by casting them in an erotic plot with affinities to poetic scenarios featuring the passionate reconciliations of extramarital lovers—is noteworthy for another reason. Namely, Cicero represents Antony's rupture with his extramarital lover Cytheris as the legally binding repudiation of a wife (*Philippics* 2.28.69):

Frugi factus est; illam mimam suam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duodecim tabulis clauis ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus ciuis, quam probatus! Cuius ex omni uita nihil est honestius, quam quod cum mima fecit diuortium!

He has become an upright person; he has ordered [Cytheris,] that mime actress of his to "keep her own property," and, in accordance with the laws of the Twelve Tables, has taken away her keys, he has driven her out. What a respectable citizen he is from now on, how tried and tested. In this man's entire life nothing is more honorable than that he divorced a female mime.

Elsewhere in the *Philippics*, Cicero vilifies Fulvia specifically in her role as Antony's wife, thrice calling her deadly to her two earlier husbands. For example, he asks Antony (2.5.11):

> Quis autem, meum consulatum praeter te Publiumque Clodium qui uituperaret, inuentus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum sicut C. Curioni manet, quoniam id domi tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale?
>
> Who, moreover, has been found of the sort that would vilify my consulship except for you and Publius Clodius. Whose fate indeed awaits you, as it did for Gaius Curio, since that which was deadly to them both is in your home?[19]

But by portraying Antony's rejection of the mime Cytheris as a Roman divorce proceeding, Cicero implies that no difference exists between Antony's wives and Antony's lovers. He thereby equates the nobly born and legally wed Fulvia with a freedwoman who was not only attacked by Cicero for her liaison with Antony, but also celebrated, at this very time, as a literarily inspirational *domina* by another of her lovers, an influential elegiac poet.

Sextus Clodius's Insult and Nepos's Account of Atticus's Support

Two further sources contemporary with Fulvia merit notice, one for contextualizing, and the other for contesting, the portraits furnished by Martial, the *Perusinae glandes*, and Cicero. Suetonius reports that the rhetorical authority Sextus Clodius (presumably a freedman of Fulvia's first husband, Publius Clodius Pulcher) insulted both Fulvia's self-assertive conduct and her physical unattractiveness (Suet. *De Rhetoribus* 5):

> Sextus Clodius, e Sicilia, Latinae simul Graecaeque eloquentiae professor, male oculatus et dicax, par oculorum in amicitia M. Antonii triumviri extrisse se aiebat; eiusdem uxorem Fuluiam, cui altera bucca inflatior erat, acumen stili tentare dixit, nec eo minus, immo uel magis ob hoc Antonio gratis. A quo mox consule ingens etim congirium accept, ut ei in Philippicis Cicero obicit.
>
> Sextus Clodius, from Sicily, instructor of both Latin and Greek, poorly eyesighted and sharp-tongued, would say that he wore out a pair of eyes during his friendship with the triumvir Mark Antony; he said that Antony's wife Fulvia, one of whose cheeks was slightly swollen, provokes the point of a pen, and became more rather than less favored by Antony as a result of this re-

> mark. When Antony became consul soon after that, he received a huge gift from him, as Cicero says to cast aspersions on him in the *Philippics*.

Clodius's words about Fulvia function as a rhetorical double entendre: they imply not only that Fulvia's behavior literally deserved, and earned her, a physical puncture in her face, but also that her behavior deserved a pointed, unflattering epigram. They also may explain, and even justify, Octavian's portrayal of Fulvia as sexually aggressive and physically unappealing in the *sex versus* quoted by Martial. By adding that this remark made Antony favor Clodius all the more, Suetonius suggests that Antony would have excused and even applauded Octavian's cruel words about his wife.

The life of Cicero's friend Titus Pomponius Atticus (who lived from 110 to 32 BCE), written by Cornelius Nepos (ca. 110 to 24 BCE), describes the generous financial and moral support extended by Atticus to Fulvia after Antony was declared a public enemy.[20] It provides a different perspective on Fulvia, allowing the inference that Octavian's poem, the sling-bullets from Perusia, Cicero's comments in the *Philippics*, and Sextus Clodius's insulting remark all furnish, at best, only a partial and unfair picture of her (Nepos 9.2ff.):

> Hostis Antonius iudicatus Italia cesserat . . . non solum inimici . . . sed etiam qui adusersariis eius se dabant et in eo laedendo aliquam consecuturos sperabant commoditatem, Antonii familiares insequebantur, uxorem Fuluiam omnibus rebus spoliare cupiebant, liberos etiam extinguere parabant. Atticus cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto non modo nihi iis indulsit ad Antonium uiolandam, sed e contrario familiares eius ex urbe profugientes, quam potuit, texit, quibus rebus indiguerant, adiuvut. Ipsi autem Fuluiae, cum litibus distineretur magnisque terroribus uexaretur, tanta diligentia officium suum praestitit, ut nullum illa stetit uadimonium sine Attico, Atticus sponsor omnium rerum fuerit. Quin etiam, cum illa fundum secunda fortuna emisset et in diem neque post calamitatem uersuram facere potuisset, ille se interposuit pecuniamque sine faenore sineque ulla stipulatione credidit, maximum existimans quaestum memorem gratumque cognosci simulque aperiens se non fortunae, sed hominibus solere esse amicum.
>
> When Antony was declared a public enemy . . . not only his personal enemies . . . but a great number of people who joined up with his opponents and hoped to achieve some advantage by harming him, persecuted his friends and desired to despoil his wife Fulvia of all her possessions, and were preparing to destroy

> her children. Although Atticus enjoyed a close friendship with Cicero, and was very friendly with Brutus, not only did he in no way indulge them in order to do him harm, but on the contrary, to the best of his ability, hid his friends when they were fleeing from Rome, and helped them with the resources they needed. To Fulvia herself, moreover, when she was being pulled in all directions by legal suits and tormented by grave fears, he offered his dutiful attention with such care that she never made a court appearance without Atticus, and Atticus was her surety in all instances. Indeed, when she had bought an estate with a fixed date for payment at a time when fortune smiled on her, and had not been able to arrange a loan after her reversal of fortune, he came to her rescue and loaned her the money without interest or any strings attached, thinking it the greatest gain to be known as mindful and grateful, and demonstrating at the same time that he was accustomed to be a friend to people and not to their fortune.

Nepos's observations about Fulvia here are important, and not only because of the sympathetic light in which they place her. Unlike Octavian, Cicero, Sextus Clodius, and the *Perusinae glandes*, Nepos does not make an issue of her gender or her deviation from Roman female behavioral conventions. He merely presents her as one of Atticus's friends. Still, like other contemporary sources on Fulvia and the texts of Latin love poetry that they resemble, he uses a military metaphor to underscore Fulvia's precarious position, much as Propertius does in describing Cynthia's return (4.8). For Nepos states that Antony's enemies desired to "despoil her (*spoliare*) of all things, and were even preparing to destroy her children."

Other details in Nepos's characterization of Fulvia call to mind those found in portrayals by earlier (and later) Latin love poets when describing their emotionally vulnerable *inamoratae* in stressful circumstances. For example, Nepos refers to Fulvia as "tormented by great fears" (*magnisque terroribus uexaretur*). In elegy 1.3, written at around the same time as Nepos's life of Atticus, Propertius worries that the dreams of his sleeping beloved, Cynthia, may similarly assail her with "unaccustomed fears" (*insolitos timores*, 1.3.29).

What is more, Nepos explains Atticus's deferential, solicitous conduct by noting that he thought the greatest gain was to be known as mindful and grateful (*memorem atque gratumque cognosci*). Nepos's friend Catullus highlights mindfulness and gratefulness as important qualities in a poet and lover, such as himself. In his very first poem, Catullus gratefully remembers Nepos and his past support of Catullus's verses. More significantly, poem 107 begins its reflections

on the poet's reunion with Lesbia with the observation that "if ever anything happened to anyone desirously wishing and not hoping, that is truly pleasing (*gratum*) to the mind."

Contemporary Sources and Writing about a Historical Woman

Why do these contemporary sources denigrate, and yet elevate, Fulvia in and out of her role as elite woman warrior? Why have I suggested that Catullan poems exalt his beloved and insult various women—at times including his beloved—in much the same way as these sources on Fulvia represent her? Why have I also sought to connect these sources from Fulvia's lifetime with later love elegies by Propertius and Ovid? Why, for that matter, do I examine this documented historical woman through a fictionalizing, literary, and particularly a poetic lens?

I do so for historical as well as literary reasons. Catullus's poetry may have provided a model for these sources, because he was likely to have been personally acquainted with Fulvia, wife of Publius Clodius Pulcher, to whom he refers as "Lesbius" in poem 79. Catullus's own beloved, Clodia, whom he calls Lesbia, was Fulvia's sister-in-law. Accounts from the period immediately following Clodius's death testify that Fulvia was active, and publicly visible, in promoting her late husband's interests, whereas they never mention the involvement of his sisters in this way at this time.[21]

Catullus may even refer to Fulvia in his poetry, under a metrically equivalent pseudonym: consider his poem about "Quintia," whose impressive looks do not measure up to those of Lesbia (86.1–6):

> Quintia formosa multis: mihi candida, longa
> Rectast. Haec ego sic singula confiteor:
> Totum ille formosa nego; nam nulla uenustas,
> Nulla in tam magnost corpore mica salis.
> Lesbia formosast, quae cum pulcherrima totast.
> Tum omnibus una omnis surripuit Veneres.

Quintia is attractive to many. To me, she's of shining complexion, tall and straight. Thus I acknowledge these individual features. But I deny that this entire entity is an attractive woman: for there is no "Venus-ness," no sparkle of wit, in that very large body. Lesbia is attractive, who is not only very beautiful, but alone has stolen all of the Venuses from all the women.

Propertius's elegy 4.8, which makes heavy use of military language to represent the self-assertive, confrontational conduct of his beloved Cynthia (4.8), is by no means unique among later Roman elegies in its affinities with portrayals of Fulvia at around the time of the Perusine War. Propertius himself represents his beloved Cynthia as imperious—and upset at his nocturnal attentions to a rival (1.3). In another poem, he reels off a roster of power-wielding females—including various mythic warrior women and culminating in Cleopatra—when justifying how Cynthia treats him (3.11). Inasmuch as Propertius himself concludes his first book of elegies with two poems emphasizing the personal costs of the Perusine conflict (1.21; 1.22) and mentions the war again elsewhere (2.1), the figure of Fulvia may well have commanded his attentions and his sympathies, as well as influenced his portrait of his beloved.

In the Quartilla episode of his *Satyricon*, Petronius parodies Propertius (4.8), particularly its description of the militarily aggressive Cynthia.[22] Later portraits of Fulvia—by Appian and Cassius Dio, for example—appear to have been informed by the combination of invective and elevation found in contemporary sources about her, much as Petronius's novel was influenced by Propertius's elegy. But, unlike the parodic Petronius, these portraitists seem to have taken these earlier sources seriously, uncritically accepting their assertions about Fulvia.

I now return to the questions of if, and how, recollections of the fighting Fulvia affect portraits of *dominae* and *inamoratae* in later Latin poetry, by Horace as well as by love elegists. Fulvia herself was remembered long after her death, in part because of the political prominence accorded to and the disgrace suffered by her youngest son, Iullus Antonius. After being reared in Augustus's household and wed to his stepsister (and Augustus's niece), the elder Marcella, Iullus Antonius held the posts of praetor in 13 BCE, consul in 10 BCE, and proconsul of Asia in 7 BCE. His politically charged *praenomen* Iullus stood as a reminder that his father Antony, like Augustus, claimed Julian ancestry on his mother's side.[23]

Iullus also moved in literary circles: as the author of an epic poem on the exploits of Diomedes, as the addressee of Horace in *Odes* 4.2, and as the likely butt of a joking allusion by Ovid in *Amores* 3.9.[24] When explaining why Iullus was punished for adultery with Augustus's daughter Julia in 2 BCE, as a result of which Iullus took his own life, the younger Seneca states "that again (*iterum*) a woman with an Antony had to be feared" (*De Brevitate Vitae* 14.4.5). With the word *iterum*, Seneca may well be recalling Fulvia, rather than (or as well as) Cleopatra. Our representations of this elite Roman woman warrior underscore the importance of examining evidence of this kind, of exploring the in-

tersections between historical reality and literary fiction, of recognizing that even historical Roman women are "written," and of considering if "written women" may also be historical.[25]

NOTES

1. Major studies of Fulvia include Babcock 1965; Bauman 1992; Delia 1991; Fraschetti 2001; Hallett 2006; Welch 1995. For Fulvia's three husbands, see the articles on Publius Clodius Gaius Scribonius Curio by Badian 1996b; Pulcher by Chilver and Lintott 1996; and Marcus Antonius by Pelling 1996. See also Huzar 1978.

2. Plutarch *Antony* 10.3. See also *Antony* 10.28–30 on Fulvia's role in the Perusine War.

3. For ancient sources on the Perusine War, see, in particular, Appian *Bella Civilia* 5.32–9. See also Reinhold 1933.

4. For Gallus's verses, see Anderson et al. 1979, who date them to shortly before the assassination of Julius Caesar in March 44 BCE. After addressing Lycoris, and referring to "sad things owing to your worthless behavior" (*Tristia nequiti[ia . . .] Lycori tua*), they address [Julius] Caesar (Anderson et al. 1979: 140):

> Fata mihi, Caesar, tum erunt mea dulcia, quom tu
> Maximae Romanae pars eri[s] historiae
> Postque tuum reditum multorum templa deorum
> Fixa legam spolieis deiuitiora tueis.
>
> Then, Caesar, my fate will be sweet, when you will be the greatest part of Roman history and after your return I will read the temples of many gods, richer, fitted with your spoils.

The following couplet again refers to Lycoris, this time as the poet's mistress (*domina*), by noting *tandem fecerunt c[ar]mina Musae / Quae possem domina deiecere digna mea* ("Finally the Muses created poems of the sort that I was able to cast down as worthy of my mistress"). For Volumnia Cytheris, see Keith 2011.

5. On the representation of Fulvia in the *Perusinae glandes*, see Hallett 1977, 2006.

6. For these coins, see Rose 1997: 8n65.

7. See Badian 1996a: 614: "In later literature (especially Cass. Dio) she became the type of the wicked matron, contrasted with the virtuous Octavia."

8. For the view that the female figures portrayed in Latin love poetry as love interests of the first-person poet-speakers are "written women" who do not represent actual, historical individuals, see Wyke 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 2007.

9. Among the metrical and other linguistic details pointing to a date in the late 40s or very early 30s BCE are the trisyllabic endings of pentameter lines 4 and 6 (with *futuam* and *sapiam*), the form *uti* for *ut* in line 4, and the two elisions in the first two feet of line 5.

10. Badian 1996a: 614 also calls attention to the two bullets insulting Fulvia, citing *ILLRP* 1106, 1112 (Degrassi 1957–63).

11. PETO OCTAVIAI CVLVM; PATHICE; SALVE, OCTAVI FELAS; OCTAVI LAXE ("I seek the asshole of Octavia"; "You with the prick in your hole"; "Hello there, Octavius cock-sucker"; "Octavius stretched-out-in-the-asshole"). Catullus uses the primary obscenities *culus* and *pathicus* as well, for example when referring to the *culus* of Furius (23.19), when addressing Aurelius as *pathice* (16.2), and three times—along with *cunnus* and *futuit*—when insulting Aemilius (97).

12. Hallett 1977: 152–3, 2006: 150–2. Whether or not the soldiers who inscribed these sling-bullets—some on Fulvia's side, others on Octavian's—were themselves familiar with Catullus's verses, their "writings" clearly draw on a shared vocabulary of sexually framed public abuse weighted with a powerful literary tradition.

13. FULVIAE LANDICAM PETO; L. ANTONI CALVE ET FULVIA, CVLVM PANDITE ("seek the clitoris of Fulvia"; "Lucius Antonius, baldy, and Fulvia, open up your asshole").

14. For the Roman view of the prominent clitoris as an unsightly "masculine" physical defect and a sign of advancing age, see *Carmina Priapea* 12.14, 78; Martial 3.72.6, 7.67.

15. The images of Fulvia as Nike on coins elevate her to divine status, too, suggesting an effort to create favorable public associations between Fulvia and military activity.

16. Hallett 1977 also examines evidence from coin-portraits.

17. For the date of the *Philippics*, see Simon and Obbink 1996: 1559.

18. By way of contrast, Plutarch's account of this episode (*Antony* 10.3) is narrated briefly, totally in the third person, with minimal attention to the feelings and reactions of the two parties involved. Fabre-Serris 2009 analyzes the variations on a narrative motif found in Tibullus (1.3), Livy's representation of Lucretia (1.57–60), Sulpicia, Propertius, and Ovid, which—like Cicero's anecdote here—features the sudden return of an actual or aspiring lover. On the basis of her findings, and because Antony and Gallus did share the same woman as their mistress, I find it plausible that the elegies of Cornelius Gallus cast his beloved Lycoris in one or more similar scenarios, which these later texts evoke, and which Vergil also recalls and revises in *Eclogue* 10. Cicero, too, would then be alluding to and influenced by Gallus's writings; he would, moreover, be anticipating Propertius by representing Antony as an elegiac lover, particularly in his characterization of Fulvia as erotically swayed by Antony's letter, composed in an amatory style. My thanks to Jacqueline Fabre-Serris for clarifying my reflections on this topic.

19. Elsewhere in the *Philippics*, Cicero refers to Fulvia as "for far too long owing the Roman people a third dead husband as payment" (*nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem*, 2.36.114) and claims that "that woman of his, more fortunate for herself than for her husbands, was putting provinces and kingdoms up for auction" (*mulier sibi felicior quam uiris auctionem prouinciarum regnorum faciebat*, 5.4.11).

20. For the dates of Nepos and his life of Atticus, see Horsfall 1989.

21. See, for example, Asconius's commentary on Cicero's *Pro Milone*: ch. 40C.

22. For Petronius's parody of Propertius and love elegy, see Hallett 2003.

23. For Iullus's marriage and political career, discussed by Hallett 2006: 154–5, see, for example, Plutarch (*Antony* 54, 57); Tacitus (*Annales* 4.44); Velleius Paterculus (2.100.4); Cassius Dio (54.26).

24. For Iullus's literary engagements, discussed by Hallett 2006: 155, see Horace (*Odes* 4.2) and the commentary by Acro; for Ovid's humorous allusion to Iullus (*Amores* 3.9.13–4), see Hallett 2006: 158–9; for the *praenomen* Iullus and its associations, see Hallett 2006: 157–9.

25. My thanks to Jacqueline Fabre-Serris, Alison Keith, and John H. Starks Jr. for their invaluable help with this chapter.

Women and *Imperium* in Rome

Imperial Perspectives

STÉPHANE BENOIST

The construction of an "imperial" identity in our textual sources—whether they are literary (such as the biographies of emperors), epigraphic, or papyrological (e.g., those recorded in the titulature that enunciates the names, titles, and powers of emperors and their wives, the latter referred to as *Augustae*)—is accompanied by the careful construction of a portrait of femininity that offers a striking counterpoint to the masculine figures endowed with imperial power (*imperium*). The concentration of military authority (*imperium militiae*) in the hands of a singular "emperor" was the result of aristocratic competition among the powerful generals (*imperatores*) in the last century of the Roman republic, and this authority came to define an important aspect of the powers of Augustus and his successors. It is in this context that I consider the specific relationship between women and warfare in Roman imperial discourse during the late republic and the first three centuries of our era, exploring the varying rhetorics of the textual and material evidence—literary as well as epigraphic—concerning the relations between women and war in the principate.

This research focus recalls the "Women in Antiquity" seminar organized in Oxford by Barbara Levick and Richard Hawley during the academic year 1989–1990, which was an opportunity to deconstruct and decenter the androcentric discourse of antiquity and the male gaze of classical scholarship.[1] My own investigations center primarily on Roman imperial power, practices, and discourses of representation, including the various forms of commemoration, legitimation, and identification of urban and imperial spaces, *Vrbi et Orbi*.[2] As I am a man working definitively on men (but also on a few remarkable women) and analyzing the rhetorical approaches of *elogium* (panegyric) and condemnation (invective), I often encounter the portrayal of effeminate emperors and virilized women, both "types" associated with deviant sexualities in the sources.[3]

Two stimuli provided by recent research on *abolitio memoriae* (condemnation of memory) raise the specter of the impossible *imperium* of women during the Roman period.[4] First, there is a paper by Isabelle Brousselle, a Byzantinist who notes the use by Irena, initially regent for her son in 780–790 CE and then queen, of the male title *basileus* ("king") rather than the female *basilissa* ("queen") on coins and *novella*.[5] Second, there is my own work about imperial titulature (titles and forms of address) and the evolution of the nomenclature of emperors and empresses from the first to the fourth century CE. The exemplary sequence in the phrase *mater Augusti nostri et castrorum et senatus et patriae* ("mother of our Augustus, and the camps, and the Senate, and the country") offers an epigraphic perspective to which I shall return in section 4 below.[6] Second, there is the 2009 doctoral thesis by Fany Lejeune about women and the practice of power within the entourage of emperors and the *domus Augusta* ("imperial household"), covering the period from the death of Caesar to Severus Alexander.[7] The primary result of her survey has been to confirm a lacuna: there is no place for any institutionalized power for women, no room for any empress in the normative sense of the formulation of an *Augusta* "*imperator*."[8]

In this chapter, I present, in four sections, a range of discourses about some exceptional feminine figures. In them I analyze a few periods of tension, confrontation, and crisis during the empire, which serve as case studies of the various stages in the process of entrenching the principate after its original Augustan conception. The "women in war" in this chapter can be interpreted, in the main, as women in civil wars, even if not as women in a purely military context. I begin with what can be presented as a formula—*ab Vrbe condita* ("from the origins of the city")—of the *imperium* (power) that lies at the origin of our conception of imperial Rome, found in the Augustan discourse about Romulus offered by Livy (section 1).[9] I then concentrate on three centuries of Roman history, from Augustus to Aurelian, and study this period from three historical contexts, ranging from Livy to the *Historia Augusta*: the Augustan (section 2), the Antonino-Severan (section 3), and the Theodosian (section 4).

Section 1

Our sources contain a few "exemplary" figures, like Lucretia, Dido, Cloelia, and Boudicca, each with a distinctive meaning for the Romans of the imperial era. This meaning emerges in a series of narratives on the origins of regal, republican, and imperial Rome: from the genesis of the republic to the founding of the restored republic by Augustus; from the beginnings of the consular republic to

the Julio-Claudian period; and from Aeneas's legend to the famous war with Boudicca in the first century CE during the process of provincialization, with its many crises concerning the transformation of client kingdoms into directly administrated provinces (*prouinciae*). The earliest evidence I consider comes from Augustan authors, who employ different narrative modes to present an image of Rome's origins through historiography, poetry, and moral precepts (Livy, Vergil, and Valerius Maximus, respectively).[10] From the last decades of the first century BCE to the first decades of the first century CE, each of these authors provides important testimony about the process of writing an Augustan history "from the foundation of the City," to use Livy's famous phrase (*ab Vrbe condita*), in accordance with the way the first *princeps* wished to represent his own place in Roman history.[11] I also consider the *Annals* of Tacitus and their moral exemplarity in the presentation of events from Augustus's death in 14 CE to the year 68 CE.

I have chosen these four figures—Lucretia, Dido, Cloelia, and Boudicca—as they are representative of a common and strictly masculine discourse, which exalts the virility of only a few women. I begin by noting the specific use of the Latin terms *dux* or *ductu*, mostly in apposition but without any normative signification, in the sources' accounts of these exceptional women. Thus Valerius Maximus lauds Lucretia as *dux Romanae pudicitiae*, the "chief" or "master" of the Roman sense of decency, *pudor* (Val. Max. 6.1.1):[12]

> **Dux Romanae pudicitiae Lucretia**, cuius uirilis animus maligno errore Fortunae muliebre corpus sortitus est, a <Sex.> Tarquinio regis Superbi filio, per uim stuprum pati coacta, cum grauissimis uerbis iniuriam suam in concilio necessariorum deplorasset, ferro se, quod ueste tectum adtulerat, interemit causamque tam animoso interitu imperium consulare pro regio permutandi populo Romano praebuit.
>
> Lucretia, model of Roman chastity, whose manly spirit by Fortune's malignant error was allotted a woman's body, was forcibly raped by Sex. Tarquinius, son of king Superbus. In a family council, after bitterly bemoaning her injury, she killed herself with a sword she had brought concealed in her clothing and by so courageous a death gave the Roman people reason to change the authority of kings for that of Consuls (trans. Shackleton Bailey 2000).

Similarly, Vergil styles Dido as *dux femina facti* ("a woman was the leader of the deed," *Aen*. 1.364).[13] This epigram has a concessive valence, intimating that even though Dido was a woman, she commanded her people's successful flight

from Tyre to Libya, an action that expressly resulted in the foundation of the city of Carthage and, thereby, Dido's achievement of historically memorable deeds (*res gestae*).

In Livy's contemporary account of the origins of Rome, the historian represents Cloelia at the head of a group of virginal maidens, serving as their "commander" (Liv. 2.13.6):[14]

> Ergo ita honorata uirtute, feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae, et Cloelia uirgo una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, **dux agminis uirginum**.
>
> Now when courage had been thus distinguished, even the women were inspired to deeds of patriotism. Thus the maiden Cloelia, one of the hostages, eluded the sentinels, when it chanced that the Etruscans had encamped not far from the bank of the Tiber, and heading a band of girls swam the river and, under a rain of hostile darts, brought them all back in safety to their kinsmen in Rome (trans. Foster 1919).

Thus Cloelia, too, is the leader of an expedition, although in this case one composed of maidens.

Finally, Tacitus relates that the Romans and Britons engaged in war, with the latter under the command of a woman, Boudicca (Tac. *Ann*. 14.35.1):[15]

> Boudicca curru filias prae se uehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis **feminarum ductu bellare** testabatur, sed tunc, non ut tantis maioribus ortam, regnum et opes, uerum ut unam e uulgo, libertatem amissam, confectum uerberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci.
>
> Boudicca, mounted in a chariot with her daughters before her, rode up to clan after clan and delivered her protest: It was customary, she knew, with Britons to fight under female captaincy; but now she was avenging, not, as a queen of glorious ancestry, her ravished realm and power, but, as a woman of the people, her liberty lost, her body tortured by the lash, the tarnished honor of her daughters (trans. Jackson 1937b).

We may interpret all four instances as providing a Roman history composed of glorious episodes scripted by women, but in a very special context, indeed an exceptional one: Roman women are featured, but so are foreign women (*peregrinae*), including Carthaginian and British queens. In this way, the Roman authors insist on the failure of an identifiable man (naturally, one in charge of the

politics of a city or cities) by drawing an implicit contrast with an individualized woman, the subject of an exemplary discourse.

These events are presented in such a way as to confirm—or call into question—the instructive and moral values of the virile actions of manly Roman or foreign leaders. The intervention of women in these contexts is always a "normative" one, strictly delimited by the legitimate struggle against tyrants: in Lucretia's case, the Etruscan tyrant Tarquin; in Cloelia's, the Etruscan people and their illegitimate domination of Rome; in Dido's, her wicked brother, the tyrannical Pygmalion; and in Boudicca's, the effeminate Roman tyrant Nero. In fact, the exceptional behavior of those women must be duly analyzed in connection with the conventional figure of the *tyrannus*. As usual, it is a rhetorical discourse of positive *elogium* as well as negative invective: the two are but the opposite sides of the same discursive coin.[16]

Section 2

In this section I consider Tacitus's rhetoric, in the *Annals* and *Histories*, with regard to his representation of powerful female figures from Agrippina to Triaria. My focus here is on *exempla* from the Julio-Claudian period, including the crisis of 68–69 CE. I argue that the annalist offers a strategic treatment of a series of moments, after Augustus's death, during which the principate required a renewal of its origins, a sort of restatement or deepening of legitimacy for the new regime. I isolate two revealing contexts from the stages of this construction of a specific discourse about *Imperium Romanum*, with both its vices and virtues: in 14 CE, after Augustus's death and during the first months of the new *princeps*, Tiberius; and in 69 CE, the year of the four emperors.[17] Tacitus interprets these two crises from a moral perspective, in order to present *its* modes of functioning.

During summer and autumn in 14 CE, the first example of an accession to imperial power shows different reactions from the armies at the frontiers of the *imperium Romanum*: on the Rhine and the Danube. This imperial succession is the beginning of the crises that will reappear at the outset of each new emperor's rule. Without any precise law concerning the investiture of a new *princeps* (beyond some rituals of recognition), the transmission and process of legitimation by *imperium proconsulare* ("proconsular rule") and *tribunicia potestas* ("tribunician power") emerge as the crucial initial moments of a monarchy that dared not speak its name. In this context, the personal situation of Agrippina Maior is a historical *exemplum* of a woman in the field with Rome's army.[18] When the news about the accession of Tiberius reached the *legiones* in Ger-

mania, a military revolt revealed the weakness of the regime. Germanicus was pressed to accept power at the moment of succession, and the events reported by Tacitus can be analyzed in a familial perspective from within the *domus Augusti* (Tac. *Ann*. 1.40.4):[19]

> Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, paruulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur; nec minus tristes qui manebant.
>
> Feminine and pitiable the procession began to move, the commander's wife in flight with his infant son borne on her breast, and round her the tearful wives of his friends, dragged like herself from their husbands (trans. trans. Jackson in Jackson and Moore 1931).

The noble attitude of Agrippina, as a wife who had to leave the camp with her children to escape the pressure of the army's mutiny, is linked to her very special position in the imperial family (Tac. *Ann*. 1.41.1–2):[20]

> Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, sed uelut in urbe uicta facies gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque aduertere. Progrediuntur contuberniis: quis ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti, pergere ad Treuiros et externae fidei. **Pudor** inde et miseratio et **patris Agrippae, Augusti aui memoria, socer Drusus**, ipsa insigni **fecunditate**, praeclara **pudicitia**.
>
> Nor were those who remained less woe-begone. The picture recalled less a Caesar at the zenith of force and in his own camp than a scene in a taken town. The sobbing and wailing drew the ears and eyes of the troops themselves. They began to emerge from quarters: "Why," they demanded, "the sound of weeping? What calamity had happened? Here were these ladies of rank, and not a centurion to guard them, not a soldier, no sign of the usual escort or that this was the general's wife! They were bound for the Treviri, handed over to the protection of foreigners." There followed shame and pity and memories of her father Agrippa, of Augustus her grandfather. She was the daughter-in-law of Drusus, herself a wife of notable fruitfulness and shining chastity (trans. Jackson in Jackson and Moore 1931).

Agrippina enjoyed great legitimacy: as the daughter of Agrippa, who had been the coregent with Augustus from the beginning of the principate to the former's death in 12 BCE; as the grandchild of Augustus, and therefore the heir of blood,

as Julia's daughter; and as the spouse of Germanicus, who was the son of Drusus. This positive portrait of a woman depends on the register of *pudicitia* ("modesty, decency, chastity"), as it did with the figure of Lucretia: Agrippina's *pudor* was able to move the soldiers at the sight of a pregnant woman with her young son Gaius in her arms.

Although Tacitus begins with a relatively traditional and conventional portrait of a weeping woman, he then confronts his readers with a quite different image of an act of virility, presented favorably (Tac. *Ann*. 1.69):[21]

> Peruaserat interim circumuenti exercitus fama et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac, ni Agrippina impositum Rheno pontem solui prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. Sed femina ingens animi **munia ducis** per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, uestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reuersis legionibus habentem.
>
> In the meantime a rumor had spread that the army had been trapped and the German columns were on the march for Gaul; and had not Agrippina prevented the demolition of the Rhine bridge, there were those who in their panic would have braved that infamy. But it was a great-hearted woman who assumed the duties of a general throughout those days; who, if a soldier was in need, clothed him, and, if he was wounded, gave him dressings. Pliny, the historian of the German Wars, asserts that she stood at the head of the bridge, offering her praises and her thanks to the returning legions (trans. Jackson in Jackson and Moore 1931).

Tacitus criticizes Agrippina's feminine use of *potestas*, in a military context in front of the Germans, at the same time as he celebrates her as a masculine woman (Tac. *Ann*. 1.69):

> Id Tiberii animum altius penetrauit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec aduersus externos <studia> militum quaeri. Nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos interuisat, signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam appellari uelit. **Potiorem** iam apud exercitus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; conpressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiuerit.
>
> The action sank deep into the soul of Tiberius. "There was something behind this officiousness; nor was it the foreigner against whom her courtship of the

> army was directed. Commanding officers had a sinecure nowadays, when a woman visited the maniples, approached the standards and took in hand to bestow largesses, as though it were not enough to curry favor by parading the general's son in the habit of a common soldier, with the request that he should be called Caesar Caligula! Already Agrippina counted for more with the armies than any general or generalissimo, and a woman had suppressed a mutiny which the imperial name had failed to check" (trans. Jackson in Jackson and Moore 1931).

Tacitus's rhetorical strategy constitutes a classic exposition of the problem of weak male power (*munia ducis . . . Potiorem*), magnified through its juxtaposition with a pushy woman.

The Tacitean narrative contains other examples that focus, by contrast, on women who deliberately depart from the rules of correct behavior according to social norms. From Tiberius's reign to the year of the four emperors, the historian mentions Placina, Piso's wife (*nec se intra decoris feminis tenebat*), and Triaria, Vitellius's sister-in-law (*gladio militari cincto*), both of whose attitudes Tacitus condemns in women. Tacitus presents Placina as transgressing typical female behavior: *Nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere* ("Nor could Plancina contain herself within the limits of female decorum: she attended cavalry exercises and infantry maneuvers; she flung her gibes at Agrippina or Germanicus," Tac. *Ann*. 2.55.6, trans. Jackson in Jackson and Moore 1931).[22] Triaria even goes a step further by strapping on a weapon and participating in a massacre during the fighting in the capital between the Vitellians and the Flavians in 68 CE (Tac. *Hist*. 3.77.6–7):

> Fuere qui uxorem L. Vitellii Triariam incesserent, tamquam gladio militari cincta inter luctum cladisque expugnatae Tarracinae superbe saeueque egisset. Ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit, percontatus statim regredi se an perdomandae Campaniae insistere iuberet.
>
> Some accused Triaria, wife of Lucius Vitellius, with girding on a soldier's sword and behaving haughtily and cruelly in the horrible massacre that followed the capture of Tarracina. Vitellius himself sent laurels to his brother to announce his success, and at the same time asked whether he directed him to return or to press on to the conquest of Campania (trans. Moore 1925).

In these countermodels, Tacitus delivers a message that deploys women such as Placina and Triaria in order to criticize the men behind them—a husband or a

brother-in-law whose attitudes the historian implicitly denounces. Piso is thereby presented as a party to Tiberius's crime, which is the reason why Agrippina's power must also be highly condemned, while Vitellius plays the part of a textbook *tyrannus*.

The military sphere is naturally masculine, so the irruption of women into this coterie signals not only their misconduct but also the dysfunction of masculine political institutions. As usual, Tacitus's rhetoric has a dual perspective, with the positive figure of Agrippina Maior and the negative ones of Placina and Triaria. The different episodes offer a continuing commentary on the presence of women as they accompany their husbands on campaign during the men's military *legationes*, as a debate at the senate in 21 CE during Tiberius's reign illustrates.[23] Drusus, Tiberius's son, is supposed to have delivered a speech explaining the presence of his wife, Livilla, during his missions (Tac. *Ann*. 3.34.6):[24]

> Addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo: nam principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. Quoties diuum Augustum in Occidentem atque Orientem meauisse comite Livia! Se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducat, alias ad gentes iturum, haud semper aequo animo, si ab uxore carissima et tot communium liberorum parente diuelleretur.
>
> Drusus added a few sentences upon his own married life: "Princes not infrequently had to visit the remote parts of the empire. How often had the deified Augustus travelled to west and east with Livia for his companion! He had himself made an excursion to Illyricum; and, if there was a purpose to serve, he was prepared to go to other countries, but not always without a pang, if he were severed from the well-beloved wife who was the mother of their many common children" (trans. Jackson in Jackson and Moore 1931).

These debates present a major change in the discharge of a general's military offices in the principate from that of the republican era.

There is also the daughter of Agrippina Maior, Agrippina Minor, who is the mother of Nero and the last wife of Claudius. She has been a repeated focus of attention for historians interested in the different *testimonia*, be they literary, numismatic, or statuary.[25] But it has been some time since the characterization of this perfect countermodel of a woman in Roman imperial society was deconstructed—and the use of negative *exempla* by senatorial historiography illustrated—in connection with Agrippina and her son Nero. What about the "stereotype of the *femina* who acts as a *dux* or who attempts to exercise *imperium*?"[26] While it may not indicate any formalization of female power (for it is

impossible to imagine in an imperial *res publica* any female *imperium* as a normative power), Tacitus's representation of Agrippina's *res gestae* (deeds) is surely an important piece of evidence in the process of constructing paradigms for good and bad emperors during the first and the second centuries CE. Women play an essential role in Tacitus's narrative, especially in order to denigrate *principes* and call into question the legitimacy of their authority. As a central query in their narratives, historians repeatedly pose the problem of the exact role of any woman representing the *domus Augusta*: mother, spouse, daughter of emperors, and other female members of their family who were not empresses (*Augustae*).

In his *Annals*, Tacitus has composed an exceedingly biased narrative, especially about Agrippina and Nero, in order to give to his readers a vivid representation of imperial tyranny in the characters of an effeminate prince and an aggressively masculine woman, his mother. Thus he portrays Agrippina as enjoying the same terms of "praise and gratitude" as are offered to her son, the ruling emperor (Tac. *Ann*. 12.37.4):[27]

> Atque illi, uinclis absoluti, Agrippinam quoque, haud procul alio suggestu conspicuam, **isdem** quibus principem **laudibus gratibusque** uenerati sunt. Nouum sane et moribus ueterum insolitum, feminam signis Romanis praesidere! Ipsa semet parti a maioribus suis imperii sociam ferebat.
>
> And the prisoners, freed from their chains, paid their homage to Agrippina also, a conspicuous figure on another tribunal not far away, in the same terms of praise and gratitude which they had employed to the emperor. It was an innovation, certainly, and one without precedent in ancient custom that a woman should sit in state before Roman standards: it was the advertisement of her claim to a partnership in the empire which her ancestors had created (trans. Jackson 1937a).

It is therefore not surprising that Agrippina's son Nero should be ruled by a woman (Tac. *Ann*. 13.6.2):

> Igitur in Vrbe, sermonum auida, quem ad modum princeps, uix septemdecim annos egressus, suscipere eam molem aut propulsare posset, quod subsidium in eo, qui **a femina regeretur**, num proelia quoque et oppugnationes urbium et cetera belli per magistros administrari possent, anquirebant.
>
> It followed that in a city with such an appetite for gossip the question was asked, "how a prince who had barely passed his seventeenth birthday would

be able to sustain or repel such a menace. What hope was there in a youth swayed by a woman? Were even battles, the assault of cities, the other operations of war, capable of being handled through the agency of pedagogues?" (trans. Jackson 1937b).

Section 3

In this section, I concentrate on the identity of the women within the *domus Augusta* and the difficulty of constructing a specific titulature for her. The evidence for this issue is much more diverse than the literary material reviewed in the first two sections. Here I consider literary, epigraphic, papyrological, and numismatic sources, from Livia Augusta to Iulia Domna. The empress, the spouse of the *Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus*, is identified and honored by a sequence of names or titles that are increasingly elaborate and offer an exact reflection of contemporary preoccupations in the literature of the first three centuries of the principate.[28]

The cognomen *Augusta* was progressively identified with an empress after Augustus's will stipulated that his widow should be adopted *ex testamento* and named *Augusta*. Tacitus presents the special status given to *Diuus Augustus*'s widow Livia, the mother of the new *princeps*, in summer 14 CE, and the historian relates the debates in the curia about the different formulations proposed in order to honor the empress: *Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio: alii* ***parentem****, alii* ***matrem patriae*** *appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur "****Iuliae filius****" censebant* ("Augusta herself enjoyed a full share of senatorial adulation. One party proposed to give her the title 'Parent of her Country'; some preferred 'Mother of her Country'; a majority thought the qualification 'Son of Julia' ought to be appended to the name of the Caesar," Tac. *Ann*. 1.14.1, trans. Jackson in Jackson and Moore 1931).[29]

It is important, though, to distinguish between the honors proposed by the senators and those really voted on and applied to her. From the titles of *mater* or *mater patriae*/*parens patriae* for Livia to that of *Iuliae filius* for Tiberius, Tacitus's testimony presumably exhibits a bias from an Antonine perspective.[30] Suetonius also mentions the title *parens patriae* in the context of the debate about her titles, and he explicitly reports that Tiberius denied it to his mother (Suet. *Tib*. 50.3–5):

Matrem Liuiam grauatus uelut partes sibi aequas potentiae uindicantem, et congressum eius assiduum uitauit et longiores secretioresque sermones, ne consiliis, quibus tamen interdum et egere et uti solebat, regi uideretur. Tulit

> etiam perindigne actum in senatu, ut titulis suis quasi Augusti, ita et "**Liuiae filius**" adiceretur. Quare non "**parentem patriae**" appellari, non ullum insignem honorem recipere publice passus est; sed et frequenter admonuit, maioribus nec feminae conuenientibus negotiis abstineret, praecipue ut animaduertit incendio iuxta aedem Vestae et ipsam interuenisse populumque et milites, quo enixius opem ferrent, adhortatam, sicut sub marito solita esset.
>
> Vexed at his mother Livia, alleging that she claimed an equal share in the rule, he shunned frequent meetings with her and long and confidential conversations, to avoid the appearance of being guided by her advice; though in point of fact he was wont every now and then to need and to follow it. He was greatly offended too by a decree of the senate, providing that "son of Livia" as well as "son of Augustus" should be written in his honorary inscriptions. For this reason he would not suffer her to be named "Parent of her Country," nor to receive any conspicuous public honor. More than that, he often warned her not to meddle with affairs of importance and unbecoming a woman, especially after he learned that at a fire near the temple of Vesta she had been present in person, and urged the people and soldiers to greater efforts, as had been her way while her husband was alive (trans. Rolfe 1998).

The historical custom of employing this phrase in epigraphic titulature is evident by the second century CE, when empresses and other women of the imperial family—including daughters and nieces—were entitled to use it.[31]

Severan titulature contains an excellent illustration of these practices. Epigraphic usage traces the passage from *Iulia Domna* to *Iulia Augusta* during the reign of her husband, Septimius Severus. In fact, the setting of a very extensive sequence during the Severans can be analyzed through a scrupulous reading of the epigraphic consequences of applying the process of *abolitio memoriae*.[32] I argue that, even if it is impossible to prove this chronological sequence definitively, the main result of the damnation of Geta in 212 CE was the need to invent new titulature for Iulia Augusta in order to fill the gaps in the different official documents (*CIL* 6.1035 = 31232 [*ILS* 426]):[33]

> Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Septimio Seuero Pio Pertinaci Aug(usto) Arabic(o) Adiabenic(o) Parth(ico) Max(imo) Fortissimo Felicissimo, / Pontif(ico) Max(imo), trib(unicia) potest(ate) XII, imp(eratori) XI, co(n)s(uli) III, patri patriae et / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio Antonino Pio Felici Aug(usto), trib(unicia) potest(ate) VII, co(n)s(uli) III, p(atri) p(atriae), proco(n)s(uli), Fortissimo Felicissimoque Principi et / **Iuliae Aug(ustae)**

matri Aug(usti) n(ostri) et castrorum et senatus et patriae et Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti) / Parthici Maximi Brittannici Maximi, / argentari et negotiantes boari huius loci qui inuehent deuoti numini eorum.

To the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, the bravest and most fortunate, the Pontifex Maximus, with tribunate powers for the twelfth time, proclaimed *imperator* eleven times, consul three times, father of the country, and to the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, with tribunate powers for the seventh time, consul three times, father of the country, proconsul, the bravest and most fortunate prince, and to Julia Augusta, mother of our Augustus and of the camps, of the Senate, of the Country, and of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Parthicus Maximus and Britannicus Maximus, the bankers and the cattle-traders of this place [dedicate this arch], out of devotion to their divine powers.

The mother of two *principes* must now be *mater Augusti nostri*, and she can draw on a very long line of masculine examples: she is the mother of camps, senate, and country. Each part of this long sequence was prepared over the course of the previous two centuries. Livia was the first *mater Augusti*, while Faustina, Marcus Aurelius's wife, was the first *mater castrorum* during a period of very great military difficulties.[34] The presence of the Syrian princesses in the Senate, according to the *vitae* of the *Historia Augusta*, should corroborate the importance of the title *mater senatus*; it is even possible to find a precedent in Agrippina, although she was separated from the others by a curtain during the first senatorial assemblies of her son's reign. Finally, the title *mater patriae* certainly was in line with Antonine trends, if not already familiar from the beginning of the empire with the reign of Tiberius.[35]

Thus the application of these expressions to the wife of *Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus* illustrates a process of identification within the imperial family and shows the importance, from the outset, of the dynastic dimension of the principate. Women, as *matres*, are an essential part of the transmission of imperial legitimacy. During the Severan period, the references to the senate and the country can be understood as an attempt to specify the nature of the imperial regime, an imperial *res publica* since Augustus's reign, despite his assertion of having restored the republic (*res publica restituta*).[36] In accordance with the legacy of Augustus, the Severan principate benefits from the triple perspective of the

people, the senatorial assembly, and the soldiers, in the combination established by the *mater castrorum, senatus, et patriae*. Thus the divinization of the *Augustae* can be linked to the perception of an imperial regime, communicated *Vrbi et Orbi* to the *ciues Romani* of the *Imperium*. From Livia to the princesses of the third century CE, there is a process of sacralization of both the emperor and his family, the *domus diuina*. Thus the *acta* of the Arval Brethren list *diui* and *diuae*, just as the evidence presented in this section establishes the collective practices in ceremonies and *monumenta* like the *caerimoniae* in Rome and the imperial cult within the whole Roman Empire.[37] *Funera* ("funerals") and *consecrationes* ("deification") in Rome and rituals all over the *Imperium Romanum* endeavor to create commonality across Roman imperial society from the center to the periphery, from *princeps* to the *limites* of the empire.[38]

Section 4

The final stage of this journey across imperial discourses concerning female power emerges in the biographies of princes and princesses in the *Historia Augusta*.[39] In a world of wars and many other troubles, Roman senators at the end of the fourth century CE became aware that they had to find a new story in order to account for the empire, its few successes, and its many failures. After three centuries of successive accretions, a portrait of an elite Roman woman (the emperor's wife, if not a real empress) was perfected, but in many respects the same dual perspective exists. It was impossible to think about a powerful woman, even in the military context of wars, without reacting to some male failure. A good woman still had to be conceptualized as the counterpart of a bad man. That is precisely the objective of Zenobia's portrait in the *Historia Augusta*, in a *uita* named for the "thirty tyrants." Thus it is important to quote in full this exemplary piece of evidence for a conception of political discourse that existed at the end of the fourth century CE (*Historia Augusta Tyranni Triginta* 30):[40]

> Now all shame is exhausted, for in the weakened state of the commonwealth things came to such a pass that, while Gallienus conducted himself in the most evil fashion, even women ruled most excellently. For, in fact, even a foreigner, Zenobia by name, about whom much has already been said, boasting herself to be of the family of the Cleopatras and the Ptolemies, proceeded upon the death of her husband Odaenathus to cast about her shoulders the imperial mantle; and arrayed in the robes of Dido and even assuming the diadem, she held the imperial power in the name of her sons Herennianus and Timolaus, ruling longer than could be endured from one of the female sex.

For this proud woman performed the functions of a monarch both while Gallienus was ruling and afterward when Claudius was busied with the war against the Goths, and in the end could scarcely be conquered by Aurelian himself, under whom she was led in triumph and submitted to the sway of Rome. There is still in existence a letter of Aurelian's, which bears testimony concerning this woman, then in captivity. For when some found fault with him, because he, the bravest of men, had led a woman in triumph, as though she were a general, he sent a letter to the senate and the Roman people, defending himself by the following justification: "I have heard, Conscript Fathers, that men are reproaching me for having performed an unmanly deed in leading Zenobia in triumph. But in truth those very persons who find fault with me now would accord me praise in abundance, did they but know what manner of woman she is, how wise in counsels, how steadfast in plans, how firm toward the soldiers, how generous when necessity calls, and how stern when discipline demands. I might even say that it was her doing that Odaenathus defeated the Persians and, after putting Sapor to flight, advanced all the way to Ctesiphon. I might add thereto that such was the fear that this woman inspired in the peoples of the East and also the Egyptians that neither Arabs nor Saracens nor Armenians ever moved against her. Nor would I have spared her life, had I not known that she did a great service to the Roman state when she preserved the imperial power in the East for herself, or for her children. Therefore let those whom nothing pleases keep the venom of their own tongues to themselves. For if it is not meet to vanquish a woman and lead her in triumph, what are they saying of Gallienus, in contempt of whom she ruled the empire well? What of the Deified Claudius, that revered and honored leader? For he, because he was busied with his campaigns against the Goths, suffered her, or so it is said, to hold the imperial power, doing it of purpose and wisely, in order that he himself, while she kept guard over the eastern frontier of the empire, might the more safely complete what he had taken in hand." This speech shows what opinion Aurelian held concerning Zenobia. Such was her continence, it is said, that she would not know even her own husband save for the purpose of conception. For when once she had lain with him, she would refrain until the time of menstruation to see if she were pregnant; if not, she would again grant him an opportunity of begetting children. She lived in regal pomp. It was rather in the manner of the Persians that she received worship and in the manner of the Persian kings that she banqueted; but it was in the manner of a Roman emperor that she came forth to public assemblies, wearing a helmet and girt with a purple fillet, which had gems

hanging from the lower edge, while its center was fastened with the jewel called cochlis, used instead of the brooch worn by women, and her arms were frequently bare. Her face was dark and of a swarthy hue, her eyes were black and powerful beyond the usual wont, her spirit divinely great, and her beauty incredible. So white were her teeth that many thought that she had pearls in place of teeth. Her voice was clear and like that of a man. Her sternness, when necessity demanded, was that of a tyrant, her clemency, when her sense of right called for it, that of a good emperor. Generous with prudence, she conserved her treasures beyond the wont of women. She made use of a carriage, and rarely of a woman's coach, but more often she rode a horse; it is said, moreover, that frequently she walked with her foot-soldiers for three or four miles. She hunted with the eagerness of a Spaniard. She often drank with her generals, though at other times she refrained, and she drank, too, with the Persians and the Armenians, but only for the purpose of getting the better of them. At her banquets she used vessels of gold and jewels, and she even used those that had been Cleopatra's. As servants she had eunuchs of advanced age and but very few maidens. She ordered her sons to talk Latin, so that, in fact, they spoke Greek but rarely and with difficulty. She herself was not wholly conversant with the Latin tongue, but nevertheless, mastering her timidity she would speak it; Egyptian, on the other hand, she spoke very well. In the history of Alexandria and the Orient she was so well versed that she even composed an epitome, so it is said; Roman history, however, she read in Greek. When Aurelian had taken her prisoner, he caused her to be led into his presence and then addressed her thus: "Why is it, Zenobia, that you dared to show insolence to the emperors of Rome?" To this she replied, it is said: "You, I know, are an emperor indeed, for you win victories, but Gallienus and Aureolus and the others I never regarded as emperors. Believing Victoria to be a woman like me, I desired to become a partner in the royal power, should the supply of lands permit." And so she was led in triumph with such magnificence that the Roman people had never seen a more splendid parade. For, in the first place, she was adorned with gems so huge that she labored under the weight of her ornaments; for it is said that this woman, courageous though she was, halted very frequently, saying that she could not endure the load of her gems. Furthermore, her feet were bound with shackles of gold and her hands with golden fetters, and even on her neck she wore a chain of gold, the weight of which was borne by a Persian buffoon. Her life was granted her by Aurelian, and they say that thereafter she lived with her children in the manner of a Roman matron on an estate that had been presented to her at Tibur, which

> even to this day is still called Zenobia, not far from the palace of Hadrian or from that place which bears the name of Concha (trans. Magie 1932).

In concluding this chapter on the impossibility of female *imperium* in ancient Rome, I focus on two main aspects of the *Historia Augusta*. We have seen that *imperium* was an essential part of the conception of power in Rome, from republic to empire, with its two normative aspects: civil and military. Septimia Zenobia, whose name presupposes the award of the *ciuitas Romana* to her husband's family during Septimius Severus's reign, was the widow of Odaenathus, the Palmyran prince in charge of the defense of the empire in the face of threats from Persia. She assumed power along with her son Wahballat, who is not mentioned in the above passage about her life. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence prove that after Odaenathus's death, Zenobia did not put the title *Augusta* into her nomenclature until she confronted Aurelian as a true usurper, even if the *Historia Augusta* suggests it. But it is certain that she held military command and was able to place under her control many lands in Syria, Asia, and Egypt—probably with the consent of the official emperor in Rome, Gallienus. Finally, in 271 CE, she assumed the title *Augusta* and inscribed it on her coins, as well naming her son *Augustus*, all without the agreement of the new *princeps*, Aurelian. A war between the Roman and "Palmyran" armies gave Aurelian the opportunity to unify the Roman Empire, stretching from the Occident to the Orient, after the fall of the separate empire of the Gauls. Palmyra was conquered and Aurelian could celebrate a sort of *triumphus* in Rome in 274 CE, with Zenobia included in the procession as his captive.[41]

The *Historia Augusta* presents a physical and moral portrait that is mainly positive—even if Zenobia's *pudor* is "devastated" (*consumptus*)—and Aurelian's letter supports this interpretation. The masculine virtues of noble courage and virility are associated with her beauty and her knowledge (even if only rudimentary) of Greek, Latin, and Egyptian. In the *Historia Augusta*, Zenobia plays the part of Cleopatra, with pretensions to familial links and a resemblance that can be analyzed through Plutarch's portrait of Cleopatra in his *Life of Antony*.[42] This approach to female *imperium* contains three significant elements. First, there is the military activity of Zenobia, from Palmyra to Egypt. Her use of the formula *optime mulieres imperarent* is instructive, as it is actually a petition to delegitimize Gallienus, the emperor in Rome. Second, in this composition written in the fourth century CE, the queen uses the *carpentum*, an official vehicle reserved for the emperor's sole use. Third, there is the natural succession of Odaenathus as a king of kings, *ciuis Romanus, consularis, dux Romanorum* ("Ro-

man citizen, consular, leader of the Romans") a few months after the defeat of the emperor Valerian in 261 CE. Odaenathus emerges as coregent (*corrector*) of the eastern part of the empire (*totius Orientis*), without facing any opposition from Valerian's son Gallienus, when Zenobia refuses to take the title *Augustus*. It is only after Gallienus's death that she deliberately accepted the title of *Augusta*, mother of an *Augustus, qui imperauit* (as the biographer expresses it in the *uita*).

This portrait is a purely rhetorical construction, however. Zenobia speaks directly to Aurelian and recognizes him as an *Augustus*, a real *imperator*, but this is not the case for Valerian's son, whose virtues and qualities are denied by the Palmyran queen. It is amazing and fascinating to find, in the person of Zenobia, a new kind of arbiter of imperial excellences. In the long process of constructing an imperial discourse, starting from the time of Augustus's reign, we can appreciate this reflection on the lines of legitimacy, dating from late antiquity, in the *Historia Augusta*. We can cautiously listen to the words of Zenobia, coming from the very far periphery of the Roman Empire, that are uttered not in 272 BCE, but in a Christian Empire on the eve of the fifth century CE: *Imperatorem te esse cognosco, qui uincis* ("You, I know, are an emperor indeed, for you win victories").

A woman participating in war against the Roman empire (in fact, against an emperor) is here able to give an official title to the legitimate *princeps*: the emperor, although in lawful receipt of *imperium*, at last is recognized by his defeated adversary. Victory is always the right process to confirm any kind of power, and a woman is finally able to deliver this message. From Fulvia to Zenobia, the expression of feminine *imperium* is definitely a game that reflects the tension between military power and legitimacy. The wife of the popular Clodius Pulcher, who then became the wife of Mark Antony, is another arbiter of factions who can deliver a message. While that message is not an official affirmation of female power, it is a traditional confirmation of the influence of women in the political sphere.[43]

NOTES

1. For an account of the different papers and the various aspects of this collective research program, see Hawley and Levick 1995. I note in particular Corbier 1995, which is in large part an essay about women and legitimacy in the first century of the principate from a different but complementary perspective.

2. See Benoist 2001, 2005, 2007b, 2008, 2011 for various aspects of this research program over the past ten years.

3. On *pudor*, nudity, and sexual behavior in an imperial discourse of legitimacy and condemnation, see Benoist 2012a, 2012b, 2012c. For literary perspectives in Latin epic, elegy, and tragedy on the topic of women in war, see the chapters in this volume by Bessone (chapter 7), Fabre-Serris (chapter 6), Keith (chapter 8), and Sharrock (chapter 9).

4. VAM, "the Victims of *Abolitio memoriae*" (HALMA, UMR 8164, CNRS, Lille 3 SHS, MCC), and Monumenta, "traces écrites et figurées de la mémoire dans l'empire romain" (HALMA; AnHiMA, UMR 8210, Paris; CNRS; EPHE; EHESS, Paris 1 & 4; ArTeHiS, UMR 6298, Dijon; and CREHS, EA 4027, Arras). See also Benoist 2007a, 2008; Benoist and Daguet-Gagey 2008; Benoist and Lefebvre 2007; Benoist et al. 2009.

5. Brousselle 2009: 64n4. See also Grierson 1982: 154 (coins); Zepos and Zepos 1931: vol. 1, 45–50 (*novella*).

6. On the titulature of the Severan women, see Kettenhofen 1979; Kuhoff 1993.

7. Lejeune 2009.

8. This does not mean that we cannot explore women's roles and participation in empire, however. See, for example, Culham 1997.

9. Livy 1.6.4: *qui nomen nouae urbi daret, qui conditam* ***imperio regeret*** ("who should give the new city its name, who should govern it when built," trans. Foster 1919). On Augustus as a new founder (*conditor*), see Benoist 2001.

10. See, for example, Langlands 2006. Three authors are mentioned in the titles of her chapters: ch. 2, "Traditional Narratives and Livy's *Roman History*"; ch. 3, "Valerius Maximus: The Complexities of Past as Paradigm"; and ch. 6, "Sexual Virtue on Display II: Oratory and the Speeches of Cicero."

11. Benoist 2001; Galinsky 1996: 246–53, 280–7 on Livy and Vergil; Jaeger 1997: ch. 1, 15–29 on "The *History* as a Monument"; Miles 1995: 119–31 on the *conditor* figure.

12. On Lucretia's *pudor*, see also Langlands 2006: 123–91 on Valerius Maximus (esp. 138–60 on Valerius Maximus 6.1 and *pudicitia*).

13. Vergil *Aen*. 1.360–4: *His commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat. / conueniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni / aut metus acer erat; nauis, quae forte paratae, / corripiunt, onerantque auro: portantur auari / Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti* ("Moved by this, Dido made ready her flight and her company. Then all assemble who felt toward the tyrant relentless hatred or keen fear; ships, which by chance were ready, they seize and load with gold; the wealth of grasping Pygmalion is borne overseas, the leader of the enterprise a woman," trans. Fairclough 1974). On the register of *dux femina*, see Santoro L'Hoir 1994, who analyses uses with positive and negative valances.

14. On this same episode, see Valerius Maximus *De fortitudine* (3.2.2): *Immemorem me propositi mei Cloelia facit paene eadem [enim] tempestate, certe aduersus eundem hostem in eodem Tiberi inclitum ausa facinus: inter ceteras enim uirgines obses Porsennae data [hosti] nocturno tempore custodiam egressa, equum conscedit celerique traiectu fluminis non solum obsidio se* ***sed etiam metu patriam soluit, uiris puella lumen uirtutis praeferendo*** ("Cloelia makes me forget what I had in mind

to say. She dared a famous deed almost at the same time, certainly against the same enemy and in the same Tiber. She had been given hostage to Porsenna with other girls. Passing the enemy guard at night, she mounted a horse and, swiftly crossing the river, freed not only herself from the condition of a hostage but her country from fear—a girl, holding the light of valor before men," trans. Shackleton Bailey 2000).

15. On Boudicca as *dux femina*, see Santoro L'Hoir 1994: 7–11.

16. See also Benoist 2012a, 2012b, 2012c for a few examples of the rhetorical processes implied in these narratives.

17. On Tacitus, see Langlands 2006: 320–48 on "Tacitus (and the Destructive Forces of *Impudicitia*)"; Santoro L'Hoir 1994; O'Gorman 2000: ch. 1 on "Introduction: Irony, History, Reading," ch. 3 on "Germanicus and the Reader in the Text."

18. See Bauman 1994: 130–56 for a general restatement of the position of Livia and Agrippina during Tiberius's reign, women who shared the same *pudicitia* but developed very different approaches to their roles within the imperial family.

19. See Milnor 2008, who explores the concept of private life in Roman society, in which the boundary between *priuatus* and *publicus* was not strictly assigned.

20. On Tacitus's treatment of Agrippina Maior, see also Langlands 2006: 343–4; O'Gorman 2000: 69–77 on the "iconic woman"; Wood 1988 on the princess's *memoria post mortem*, according to the iconographic evidence.

21. See also Santoro L'Hoir 1994 on this episode; Baumann 1994: 138–40 on Agrippina in Germany; Ginsburg 2002: 26–7 on the behavior of the armies. For an innovative interpretation of Tacitus's Germanicus, which has some relevance to our understanding of his portrait of Agrippina, see Cogitore 2013.

22. See also Bauman 1994: 140–2 on the opposition between Agrippina and Placina; Santoro L'Hoir 1994.

23. See Keith (chapter 8), esp. her note 17.

24. Eck 2002 gives a general overview of Roman provincial administration but does not mention this aspect of governors' missions, where wives began to accompany their husbands on journeys. On the value of Tacitus as a source for the principate, see Clarke 2002; Millar 1998.

25. See the splendid opus by Ginsburg 2006. For a very important counterpart, see the biographical essay on Nero by Champlin 2003. On the public image of Agrippina, see Wood 1999: 289–314, with numismatic, statuary, and glyptic evidence.

26. To quote Santoro L'Hoir 1994: 5.

27. On Tacitus's rhetorical strategy here, see Benoist 2003, 2007c; Champlin 2003: esp. 36–52.

28. On imperial titulature and its use in understanding the nature of the principate, see Benoist 2009, 2015a, forthcoming, and in preparation.

29. On Livia during her son's reign, see Bauman 1994: 131–40. For the iconographic evidence, see Bartman 1999; Wood 1999: 75–142.

30. To mirror the Tacitean testimony about Livia and the Antonine evidence, I can mention (1) the systematic grant of the title *Augusta* and the regular practice of *consecratio* for female members of the imperial family, from Ulpia Marciana and Matidia under Trajan to Pompeia Plotina and Vibia Sabina under Hadrian, according

to the epigraphical sources (especially the Arvals' *Commentarii* or the *Fasti Ostienses*); (2) the changes of nomenclature during the second century CE; and (3) the general conception of a *domus diuina* and the dynastic monarchical idea of the Antonine principate. See notes 28 and 31–5; see also Benoist 2005 on ceremonial aspects of this recognition of women within imperial discourse.

31. For these different testimonies, see the evidence collected by Kienast 1996, ad loc.

32. An excellent presentation of this process, up to the beginning of the second century CE, is provided by Flower 2006. For the Severans and the third century CE, see Benoist 2008.

33. See Benoist 2007b; Daguet-Gagey 2005; Flower 2008 on the text of the *portus Argentarii* (*CIL* 6.1035 = 31232 [*ILS* 426]) and the possible sequence before erasure and re-engraving: *[et P(ublio) Septimio Getae Caes(ari) patrono suo] et / Iuliae Aug(ustae) matri Aug(gustorum duorum) n(ostrorum) et castrorum et [Fuluiae Plautillae Aug(ustae] Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti) / [uxori filiae C(ai) Fului Plautiani C(larissimi) V(iri), pontif(icis), nobilissimi pr(aetoris) pr(aetorio), co(n)s(ulis) II, necessari et comitis Augg(ustorum duorum)] /* ("And to Publius Septimus Geta Caesar, his patron and to Iulia Augusta, the mother of our two Augustus and of the camps, and to Fulvia Plautilla Augusta, the wife of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, the daughter of Caius Fulvius Plautianus, the most distinguished man [*clarissimus vir*, member of the senatorial order], pontifex, the most noble prefect of the praetorium, consul for the second time, kinsman and comrade of the two Augustus") or, in the reading proposed by Robert Palmer (quoted in Flower 2008: 113–14): *[uxori plebs cuncta urb(ana) reg(ionis) XI patrono P(ublio) Septimio Getae nobilissimo Caes(ari) s(uae) p(ecuniae) p(osuit) et qui sunt coactores] argentari et negotiantes boari huius loci deuoti numini eorum* ("the whole urban plebs of the 11th region to his patron Publius Septimius Severus Geta, the most noble Caesar, dedicated this monument with its money and the bankers and the cattle-traders of this place who have participated in paying, out of devotion to their divine powers"). On *Iulia Domna*, see Levick 2007: esp. 57–73.

34. *Historia Augusta Vita Marci*, 26.7–8: *Diuam etiam Faustinam a senatu appellatam gratulatus est. Quam secum et in aestiuis habuerat, ut* ***matrem castrorum*** *appellaret* ("He expressed his pleasure at the deification of Faustina by the senate, and because she had accompanied him on his summer campaign, called her 'Mother of the Camp,'" trans. Magie 1932, modified). See Cassius Dio 72[71].10.5. See also Boatwright 2003 for the use of this title and Dio's specific understanding of it.

35. Tacitus *Ann*. 1.14.1; Suetonius *Tib*. 50.3; and Cassius Dio 57.12.4, 58.2.3.

36. For a recent restatement on the debate concerning the very complex Augustan understanding of the *res publica restituta*, see Hurlet and Mineo 2009.

37. On the imperial cult and its meaning for *imperium Romanum*, see Benoist 2006a, 2006b.

38. For further reflections on the links between the emperor, the city of Rome, and the empire, see Benoist 2005, 2011.

39. In the context of the long timeframe in building an imperial discourse concerning men and women in the ruling household, it is fitting to take into account the evidence offered by the *Historia Augusta*. This permits an assessment of the resiliency, over a long period, of the rhetoric of *elogium* and invective that is applied in the construction of biographies of good and bad emperors, and that integrates women of the imperial household into them. For this approach to the *Historia Augusta*, see Benoist 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d, 2013.

40. *Historia Augusta Tyranni Triginta* 30: 1: *Omnis iam consumptus est pudor, si quidem fatigata re p. eo usque peruentum est, ut Gallieno nequissime agente optime etiam mulieres imperarent, et quidem peregrinae. 2. <Peregrina> enim, nomine Zenobia, de qua multa iam dicta sunt, quae se de Cleopatrarum Ptolemaeorumque gente iactaret, post Odenatum maritum imperiali sagulo perfuso per umeros, habitu Didonis ornata, diademate etiam accepto, nomine filiorum Herenniani et Timolai diutius, quam femineus sexus patiebatur, imperauit. 3. Si quidem Gallieno adhuc regente rem p. regale mulier superba munus obtinuit et Claudio bellis Gothicis occupato uix denique ab Aureliano uicta et triumphata concessit in iura Romana. 4. Extat epistola Aureliani, quae captiuae mulieri testimonium fert. Nam cum a quibusdam reprehenderetur, quod mulierem ueluti ducem aliquem uir fortissimus triumphasset, missis ad senatum populumque Romanum litteris hac se adtestatione defendit: 5. "Audio, p. c., mihi obici, quod non uirile munus impleuerim Zenobiam triumphando. Ne illi, qui me reprehendunt, satis laudarent, si scirent, quae illa sit mulier, quam prudens in consiliis, quam constans in dispositionibus, quam erga milites grauis, quam larga, cum necessitas postulet, quam tristis, cum seueritas poscat. 6. Possum dicere illius esse, quod Odenatus Persas uicit ac fugato Sapore Ctesifonta usque peruenit. 7. Possum adserere tanto apud orientales et Aegyptiorum populos timori mulierem fuisse ut se non Arabes, non Saraceni, non Armenii commouerent. 8. Nec ego illi uitam conseruassem, nisi eam scissem multum Romanae rei publicae profuisse, cum sibi uel liberis suis orientis seruaret imperium. 9. Sibi ergo habeant propriarum uenena linguarum hi, quibus nihil placet. 10. Nam si uicisse ac triumphasse feminam non est decorum, quid de Gallieno loquuntur, in cuius contemptu haec bene rexit imperium? 11. Quid de diuo Claudio, sancto ac uenerabili duce, qui eam, quod ipse Gothicis esset expeditionibus occupatus, passus esse dicitur imperare? Idque consulte ac prudenter, ut illa seruante orientalis finis imperii ipse securius, quae instituerat, perpetraret." 12. Haec oratio indicat, quid iudicii Aurelianus habuerit de Zenobia. Cuius ea castitas fuisse dicitur, ut ne uirum suum quidem scierit nisi temptandis conceptionibus. Nam cum semel concubuisset, exspectatis menstruis continebat se, si praegnans esset, sin minus, iterum potestatem quaerendis liberis dabat. 13. Vixit regali pompa. More magis Persico adorata est. 14. Regum more Persarum conuiuata est. Imperatorum more Romanorum ad contiones galeata processit cum limbo purpureo gemmis dependentibus per ultimam fimbriam, media etiam coelide ueluti fibula muliebri adstricta, brachio saepe nudo. 15. Fuit uultu subaquilo, fusci coloris, oculis supra modum uigentibus nigris, spiritus diuini, uenustatis incredibilis. Tantus candor in dentibus, ut margaritas eam plerique putarent habere, non dentes. 16. Vox clara et uirilis. Seueritas, ubi necessitas postulabat, tyrannorum, bonorum principum clementia, ubi pietas*

requirebat. Larga prudenter, conseruatrix thensaurorum ultra femineum modum, 17. usa uehiculo carpentario, raro pilento, equo saepius. Fertur autem uel tria uel quattuor milia frequenter cum peditibus ambulasse. 18. Venata est Hispanorum cupiditate. Bibit saepe cum ducibus, cum esset alias sobria; bibit et cum Persis atque Armeniis, ut eos uinceret. 19. Usa est uasis aureis gemmatis ad conuiuia, usa Cleopatranis. In ministerio eunuchos grauioris aetatis habuit, puellas nimis raras. 20. Filios Latine loqui iusserat, ita ut Graece uel difficile uel raro loquerentur. 21. Ipsa Latini sermonis non usque quaque gnara, sed ut loqueretur pudore cohibita; loquebatur et Aegyptiace ad perfectum modum. 22. Historiae Alexandrinae atque orientalis ita perita, ut eam epitomasse dicatur; Latinam autem Graece legerat. 23. Cum illam Aurelianus cepisset atque in conspectum suum adductam sic appellasset: "Quid est, Zenobia? Ausa es insultare Romanis imperatoribus?" illa dixisse fertur: "Imperatorem te esse cognosco, qui uincis, Gallienum et Aureolum et ceteros principes non putaui. Victoriam mei similem credens in consortium regni uenire, si facultas locorum pateretur, optaui." 24. Ducta est igitur per triumphum ea specie, ut nihil pompabilius p. R. uideretur iam primum ornata gemmis ingentibus, ita ut ornamentorum onere laboraret. 25. Fertur enim mulier fortissima saepissime restitisse, cum diceret se gemmarum onera ferre non posse. 26. Vincti erant praetera pedes auro, manus etiam catenis aureis, nec collo aureum uinculum deerat, quod scurra Persicus praeferebat. 27. Huic <uita> ab Aureliano concessa est, ferturque uixisse cum liberis matronae iam more Romanae data sibi possessione in Tiburti, quae hodieque Zenobia dicitur, non longe ab Hadriani palatio atque ab eo loco, cui nomen est Concae. The queen of Palmyra is mirrored in the mother of Victorinus, the emperor in Gaul at the time of the great crisis of the empire. Victoria plays the only other feminine role in the series. See Chastagnol 1994, ix–clxxvii, which is a masterly introduction to *Historia Augusta*. On Zenobia, see Chastagnol 1994: 856–7.

41. On events from 260 to 274 CE in the Roman Empire in the East and West, see Bowman et al. 2005: 42–53, 58–66; Christol 2006: 139–62, 171–3. On the conception of *legatio* and *ornamenta consularia*, see Benoist 2000. On the triumphal *aduentus* in 274 CE, see Benoist 2005: 84, 221–4.

42. See Plutarch *Ant*. 25, 27.

43. Valerius Maximus 3.5.3: *Possedit fauorem plebis Clodius Pulcher, adhaerensque Fuluianae stolae pugio militare decus muliebri* ***imperio*** *subiectum habuit* ("Clodius Pulcher possessed the favor of the common folk and the dagger clinging to Fulvia's robe subordinated military distinction to feminine authority," trans. Shackleton Bailey 2000). See the excellent remarks by Culham 1997 and the developments by Bauman 1994: 83–9. See also Hallett (chapter 14).

The Feminine Side of War in Claudian's Epics

HENRIETTE HARICH-SCHWARZBAUER

The war narratives written in late antiquity by the panegyrist Claudius Claudianus have long been neglected in classical scholarship, and his representation of women, like the gendered discourse of his epics, have been treated only tangentially. In this chapter, I take an initial step in redeeming this double oversight by exploring the feminine side of war in Claudian's epics. After all, he wrote as a witness to a time period that was defined by incidents of war occurring in his own environment. Moreover, he could be assumed to stand in a very close relationship to the most important woman at the court of Milan, Serena, as he himself makes statements about this in his self-presentation in the poems. His closeness to Serena explains why Claudian focuses primarily on this woman in his war narratives.

In the Midst of Wars: Claudian's Panegyric

Claudian's panegyrical epics, which take into account events from the years 396 to 404 CE, were shaped against this background of permanent foreign threats and internal crises, such as famine and provincial pressure. War was appropriately in the air, not only because of the conflict between the western and eastern halves of the Roman Empire, but also because the wars were waged both *against* "barbarians" and *with* their help. An important feature of Claudian's work, in this context, is that a Libyan warlord provoked a special kind of warfare.

Claudian could draw on a wide repertoire of war narratives that were preserved in Roman collective memory and documented extensively in literature. Despite the actual political circumstances and his panegyrical goal, however, he could only partially adopt the *Aeneid* or the *Bellum Civile* as a model for coming to terms with the trauma of civil war (as both of these literary works do, albeit in different ways).[1] One of the fundamental requirements of panegyric

poetry is to present war as a success story and to portray the leader without perceptible criticism.[2] But Claudian ridiculed military opponents with the full panoply of invectives, and their weaknesses and defeats were depicted with every rhetorical means available. Therefore, in Claudian's panegyrics, opponents in war never could be sympathetic figures (as Turnus had been for some moments in the *Aeneid* or Pompey on some occasions in Lucan's *Pharsalia*). So Claudian could not follow these epics without creating a serious inconsistency and instead had to draw on a reduced selection of epic motifs. In addition to this, Claudian's catalogs of generals portray Rome's past as a series of victors whose continuity extends to the turn of the fifth century CE. This triumphalist history can be regarded as the history of Rome's good fortune, or, to put it differently, as her mission, which anticipated a response to the story of Rome's misfortune according to Christian teleology.

Claudian's presentation of Rome's history concerns a single protagonist, the "hero" Stilicho, who commissioned the poem and enabled the poet's rapid advancement at court to the position of *tribunus et notarius*. Consequently, Claudian needed to restrict the focus of his narrative around the activities of the general. The unambiguous position of the author toward his subject raises the question of how and in what form the *Panegyrici* refer to women in war and where the feminine appears at a symbolic level. In other words, how did Claudian make use of the repertoire of Roman epic at his disposal and transform it for his specific context? In particular, my aim here is to analyze which female figures cross the path of the warrior, what roles they play, and which symbols of femininity are invoked in the context of war.

Whenever war occurs, society redefines itself internally and externally, seeks to legitimate itself anew, and rewrites its historical legends. Warfare concerns all parts of a social system, visibly interferes with the social order, and changes the relationship between the public and the private, so that all of these spheres become subject to interpretation. Panegyric epic was a tool for male socialization. Because it was performed by recitation at court, it helped create and confirm the male identity of the ruling elite.[3] This basic requirement of panegyric poetry makes it inappropriate to attribute to Claudian a distant and critical reception of the epic war narrative, such as the "two voices" theory favors, especially in its application to Vergil.[4] Nevertheless, I examine whether Claudian integrated voices that take a critical view of war, and whether these voices belong to women or to characters cast in a feminine role.

Femininity and War

Claudian's fulmination against the consul Eutropius makes it clear that warfare decisively influences, defines, and preserves leadership.[5] Eutropius was a successful general and pursued a policy in Constantinople of weakening the power of the Western Roman Empire. Compared with him, Stilicho, the symbol of the West who is praised by Claudian, appears rather unsuccessful. But Eutropius was a eunuch. Ultimately, he was not defeated in battle, but became the victim of a palace intrigue in Constantinople. In 399 CE he was executed, having been deprived of power and sent into exile.

Claudian polemicizes against Eutropius in an invective that defines leadership and military service as the duties of men whose sex is unambiguous. As the poet vituperatively insists, it was a breach of divine law for a half-man (*semiuir*) to lead an army, especially one such as Eutropius who took the female, passive part in homoerotic relationships and was originally brought to Constantinople as a sex-slave from the East. It causes Mars to blush and elicits a derisive smile from Enyo, the goddess of war, over Eastern degeneracy (*In Eutrop.* 236–42):

> arma etiam uiolare parat portentaque monstris
> aggerat et secum petulans amentia certat.
> erubuit Mauors auersaque risit Enyo
> dedecus Eoum, quotiens intenta sagittis
> et pharetra fulgens anus exercetur Amazon
> arbiter aut quotiens belli pacisque recurrit
> adloquitur Getas.[6]

> He even proceeds to dishonor arms, heaps one monstrosity upon the other and wanton madness vies with itself. Mars blushed, Enyo mocked the disgrace of the East, turning away whenever with arrows strung and flashing quiver the aged Amazon practices battle or hurries back as arbiter of peace and war and addresses the Getae.[7]

The command that follows, *arma relinque uiris*,[8] is programmatic and signals an acute threat to the distribution of gender roles in the Eastern Roman Empire.[9] The narrator, in an emphatic apostrophe, turns to the eunuch in order to remind him of the distinction between male and female tasks. Claudian dismisses the eunuch (*anus Amazon*, 1.240) to Minerva's distaff and to household chores; he is only allowed a role in the cult of Cybele, where he could complete his self-castration.[10]

Beyond the apostrophe, the invective as a whole establishes a discourse about female and male leadership and about the distribution of roles during war, based on a fixed hierarchy of roles. According to Claudian, women—whose role has been assigned by nature—are, at least in principle, able to participate in war and may be successful (to a limited extent) in battle. Though some mythical women, such as Penthesilea, could take part in battles, eunuchs could not.[11] Because of their emasculation, eunuchs could not legitimately bear arms.[12] Several characters in Claudian's narrative—particularly Roma, the goddess of war[13]—criticize the feminization of war.[14] She departs for the court at Milan, where Stilicho concentrates on preserving his supremacy and teaches Honorius, the young emperor. Stilicho embodies the ideal of masculinity and, as a result, the related concept of legitimate leadership in governance and war. He is Roma's nursling (*tantoque exultat alumno*, 1.385). She laments the transgression of social norms and the degeneracy that manifests itself in the new, unnatural role of a eunuch as an army commander: previously, the *militia* of a eunuch had been confined to guarding the ruler's bedroom.[15] The threat to the gender system that results from a eunuch's military leadership provides a way to treat various discourses concerning war, such as the necessary preparations for it. As a result, not only does Claudian's contempt for Eutropius manifest itself, but also a highly positive attitude toward war.

Women and War

The division of gender roles between Stilicho, the military commander, and his wife Serena—without doubt the most powerful person in the palace[16]—is the subject of Claudian's *Laus Serenae*, a poetic biography that is probably incomplete. Because of his military successes, Stilicho was betrothed to Serena, the adopted daughter and niece of Theodosius I:[17] *solus militiae mira mercede iugalem / promeruit Stilicho socero referente coronam* ("Stilicho is the only warrior who, as the reward for signal services in war, has won from the grateful father's hand the crown of marriage," *C. min.* 30.186–7). In connection with this, Claudian mentions that Serena's sister Thermantia was likewise married to a *dux*.[18] Even though Serena comes from a nobler family than her husband, Claudian makes it clear that she achieved social prestige from her marriage to a soldier.

In discussing the war that Stilicho had waged in Thrace (*C. min.* 30.392–3), the narrator speaks about Serena's anxieties, desires, and activities, as well as the increased autonomy that resulted from her husband's military absence. Four motifs from this section constitute a catalog of normative *praxeis* that can guide the behavior of a female "ruler" in late antiquity.

1. *Reaction to the departure of a warrior.* The wife is aware of the danger signaled by the trumpets of war, and she does not suppress her first emotional reaction. Repressing such a reaction would, after all, be inhuman, according to the Stoic doctrine of the emotions, for instance. Yet she still maintains her poise.[19] The scene of farewell is then compressed into a single moment in which Serena hastily kisses her husband's helmet (*C. min.* 30.212–6):

quis tibi tum per membra tremor quantaeque cadebant
ubertim lacrimae, cum saeua uocantibus arma
iam lituis madido respectans limina uultu
optares reducem galeaeque inserta minaci
oscula cristati raperes festina mariti.

How did you tremble and weep when, as the war-trumpets summoned your husband to take up the cruel weapons, you looked back to the doorstep with a face wet with tears and prayed for his safe return after snatching the final hasty kiss from your crested husband and impressed it on the threatening helmet.

2. *Joy for the return.* Serena happily greets the victorious Stilicho and subsequently listens to his war stories, which fill the couple's chaste night (*C. min.* 30.217–20):

gaudia quae rursus, cum post uictricia tandem
classica sidereas ferratum pectus in ulnas
excipieres, castae tuto per dulcia noctis
otia pugnarum seriem narrare iuberes.

But again what joy when he finally returned, preceded by the military trumpet signaling the victory, and you could lock him still clad in armor up into your beautiful arms! How sweet the long hours of the chaste night when you enjoined him to tell in safety the story of his battles.

3. *A display of solidarity with one's husband during his campaign.* Serena renounces hair care and jewelry, and prays (*C. min.* 30.221–5):

non illo nitidos umquam bellante capillos
comere, non solitos gemmarum sumere cultus:
numinibus uotisque uacas et supplice crine
uerris humum: teritur neclectae gratia formae,
cum proprio reditura uiro.

> While he was at the war, you did not comb your shining hair nor wear the jewels that usually adorn you. Your time is spent in worship and in prayer as your suppliant tresses sweep the floor; uncared for perishes the gracious beauty that is to return with your own husband.

4. *Taking over responsibilities in the absence of one's husband*. Serena sees to it that Stilicho's position is not undermined in his absence and stays on guard against intrigues and threats. All her actions are in Stilicho's interest. Though she makes use of her influence at the palace, it nevertheless depends on her husband's power (*C. min*. 30.225–36):

> nec deside cura
> segnis marcet amor: laudem prudentia belli
> feminea pro parte subit. dum gentibus ille
> confligit, uigili tu prospicis omina sensu
> ne quid in absentem uirtutibus obuia semper
> audeat inuidiae rabies neu feruor iniquus,
> ne qua procul positis furto subsederit armis
> calliditas nocitura domi. tu sedula quondam
> . . . . . .
> motus rimata latentes
> mandatis tremebunda uirum scriptisque monebas.

> But love languishes not in idleness and sloth: as far as it could a woman's watchful care supports his deeds of glory. While he wages war with foreign nations, you keep guard lest mad envy or burning calumny—always opposed to virtues—should dare anything against him while he is away, and lest, when war was ended abroad, treachery should lie secretly in wait to injure him at home. You did indeed once show your vigilance . . . and in fear for your husband's safety, you warned him by messages and letters.

As the epic tradition since Homer often demonstrates, war created a wide spectrum of situations in which women—above all, women of the ruling elite—became the subject of narrative. Claudian recognized and adapted this variety of motifs. He pointedly alludes to well-known epic scenes, such as the warrior's departure,[20] a situation that the *Laus Serenae* compresses into Serena's kissing the helmet and crest of her *cristati mariti*. Elegiac elements can also be found in the description of a woman who is concerned for her absent husband. Though intertextuality with Roman elegists is noticeable, the elegiac tone here does not

gain the upper hand: the emotions of the worried, loving wife do not convey her sexual desire for a far-away spouse. Serena increases her influence on and demonstrates solidarity with the military commander through external signs, such as her abstinence from ostentatious *cultus feminarum*, which forms part of the established descriptive motifs for women at court.[21]

The *Laus Serenae* culminates in a catalog of political activities that Serena takes over in Stilicho's absence from court. She keeps him informed about intrigues and betrayals. Her vigilance preserves the supremacy of the Western Roman Empire. Franca Ela Consolino, in her commentary on the *Laus Serenae*, has identified the most important hypotexts of this compendium of the actions and reactions of Serena during the war waged by Stilicho in the years 392–398 CE.[22] But Consolino's findings require additional interpretation: Serena does not allow any power vacuum to arise in *absentia mariti*. She preserves Stilicho's influence and thus becomes the warrior's accomplice. She stands on the winner's side and gains her own power by securing that of the general.

Claudian's *Bellum Geticum* evokes the suffering of women during war, though it does so only briefly. A panegyric tone also predominates in this epic, which treats Stilicho's victories against Alaric and the Goths. Praise for Stilicho is matched by invective against Alaric, who was alternately an ally and foe of the Western Roman Empire from the reign of Theodosius I on. The fate of noble Gothic women serves to emphasize the victors' satisfaction over Alaric's defeat: the daughters-in-law, wives, and children of the Goths are treated violently, in the same way that Roman women suffered brutality at Alaric's hands.[23] Stilicho's responsibility for his wife, children, and family motivates him to win the war, and he seeks to encourage and strengthen this same drive among his soldiers.[24]

In Claudian's panegyric epic, extensive descriptions of battle recede into the background and, therefore, the cruelty of war is only marginally depicted. Instead, praise for Stilicho, as a general, takes its place. His victory is conveyed by the reaction of a herdsman and a farmer's wife in an Alpine region of the enemy's country, who marvel at Stilicho's admirable appearance (*Get.* 356–8):

> stat pallidus hospite magno
> pastor et ignoto praeclarum nomine uultum
> rustica sordenti genetrix ostendit alumno.
>
> The shepherd stands pale at the sight of his eminent guest, and ignorant of his name the rustic mother points out to her squalid infant his noble countenance.

Even the victors' wives take on the role of praising the glory of their army and its general.[25] Collective joy seizes Rome at their triumph over Alaric and enables the returning soldiers, including freed prisoners, to bring reports of the war to their *domus*.

Finally, the reaction of Alaric's wife to the news of defeat enables Claudian to depict the atmosphere in the camp of the vanquished enemy. This woman's outcries—she remains unnamed—turn out to be a lament for the loss of luxury as a result of the war. The barbarian's wife, whose madness and pride had originally encouraged Alaric to wage war, ends up shrieking. According to Claudian, the jeweled necklaces worn by Roman women and her greedy desire to own Roman matrons as slaves are among her motivations in forcing her husband to fight (*Get*. 623–8):

> quis tibi tunc, Alarice, dolor, cum Marte perirent
> diuitiae spoliisque diu quaesita supellex,
> pulsaretque tuas ululatus coniugis aures,
> coniugis, inuicto dudum quae freta marito
> demens Ausonidum gemmata monilia matrum
> Romanasque alta famulas ceruice petebat.

What must your despair have been, Alaric, when ruin overwhelmed your wealth and all that booty that years of robbing had won you, when the cries of your wife struck your ears, who too confident in her long unconquered husband, demanded in her madness with her head held high the jeweled necklaces of Italian matrons and Roman women as servants!

Feminine Figures of War: Warmongering Women

In portraying female figures who instigate war through their long speeches, Claudian stands firmly in the tradition of the Roman epic.[26] Personifications of war—the Furies, *Dirae*, *Fama*—already present in the *Aeneid* and subsequently found in imperial epics, are hypostasized representations of the destructive female power that provokes war. Claudian's poetry, however, noticeably reduces the narratological function of such female figures to generate and reveal new images of war. Above all, the portrayal of these warmongering women raises the issue of the representation of power. Though Claudian's narrative relies on a divine apparatus, this device has been limited, in accordance with his Christian milieu. Personified powers (such as Roma), rather than the gods themselves, step into the role of warmongers. The actual authority for initiating war is then granted to male characters. For example, the goddesses Roma and Africa plead

with Jupiter to turn against Gildo after he had stopped the supply of grain to the West. The goddess Roma embodies the Western Roman Empire as it endures famine. She appears in the form of an older woman weakened by hunger and deplores her illness and loss of power.[27] Looking back on earlier Roman wars, she presents an extensive catalog—demonstrating an excellent knowledge of Roman military history—in order to emphasize the diminishing power of the empire and its present crisis.

The personification of Africa also advocates war and pleads urgently with Jupiter. She embodies the suffering of a province that had been subjected to a usurper, terrorized, and brought to the point of guerilla warfare. She deplores its pillage and rape. The fate of the women of Carthage, who were humiliated for their ethnic identity, provides a glimpse of the tragic aspect of war. These women are abused by the mercenaries of the hostile troops and bear children to the Libyan nomads and Ethiopians (*Gild*. 188–93):

> nec damna pudoris
> turpia sufficiunt: Mauris clarissima quaeque
> fastidita datur. media Karthagine ductae
> barbara Sidoniae subeunt conubia matres;
> Aethiopum nobis generum, Nasamona maritum
> ingerit, exterret cunabula discolor infans.

> Nor is the loss of honor enough; when Gildo grows tired of each most noble matron, he hands her over to the Moors. Wedded in Carthage city, these Sidonian mothers are forced to suffer marriage with barbarians. He imposes on me an Ethiopian as a son-in-law, a Berber as a husband. A child of strange color terrifies its cradle.

Africa thus supports Roma's plea to fight against Gildo: her well-being depends on Roma, and, moreover, she wishes to serve no one but Roma. The Olympians respond to Roma's lament with their own tears, and Jupiter promises help for Africa. To this end he rejuvenates Roma, who suddenly is transformed into a radiant martial goddess.[28]

In the *Aeneid*, divinities already appear partly in human form for the sake of instigating war: for instance, Allecto shows up in Turnus's dreams in the form of Calybe, a priestess of Juno.[29] In Claudian's poetry, the intervention of Roma and Africa prompts the dream visions of Theodosius I (*minor*) and his father Theodosius (*maior*) for the young rulers of the Roman Empire in the West (Honorius) and the East (Arcadius). The appearance of the older Theodosius,

who was an important general, was responsible for the start of the war against Gildo, and it is he who begs Honorius to leave his marital bed and start the war (*aemula uirtus* / *acuit*, Claudian *Gild*. 349–50).[30]

As this example shows, female involvement in the instigation of war is diligently arranged. On the one hand, this poet from late antiquity continues the epic tradition of setting war into motion through female figures.[31] On the other hand, personifications enable Claudian to give a more differentiated picture and focus on the interplay between people who incite war. Both facets emphasize, however, that in the end, the decisive historical role is played by male figures. In this regard, a comparison with Lucan is instructive. In the first book of the *Bellum Civile*, the personification of Patria appears to Julius Caesar as he is about to cross the Rubicon.[32] By contrast, in the *Bellum Gildonicum*, Roma conveys her lament and her wish for Rome to regain its former power to Jupiter, who in turns relays this to Honorius and Arcadius by means of the dream visions of the Theodosii. Consequently, Theodosius I advises his son Arcadius not to wage war against his brother, but instead to support Stilicho in the fight against Gildo, who constitutes a danger to Rome. The elder Theodosius, in turn, offers advice to his other grandson, Honorius. Finally, Stilicho appears on the scene and suggests allowing Mascezel to fight against Gildo vicariously, in order to incite civil war among the Mauretanians. Above all, the female figures who compose this group of warmongers make the suffering that war causes palpable. At the same time, these women are treated as figures of powerlessness.[33] Though Roma regains her external splendor as a result of the war against Gildo, her power remains limited.[34]

Though it has been viewed in many ways, Vergil's use of female figures to instigate war—the most well-known are Amata, Silvia, and the Furies—can be explained by the growth of public power women gained after Caesar's assassination and especially after the battle of Actium.[35] An analogous interpretation of Claudian's panegyric works only to a limited extent. This poet from late antiquity deviates in at least one significant respect from hewing to the traditional function of female warmongers: the two dead Theodosii, who were renowned for their military experience and success, argue persuasively—but without emotional appeals—for the necessity of war.

Conclusion and Prospects

Claudian's treatment of war and his perspective on literary tradition are both shaped by the fact that a professional general and his military exploits stand at the center of his panegyric epics. As a result, the suffering that war brings plays

only a marginal role. Claudian demonstrates that he is familiar with the central motifs and varieties of discourse concerning women in war and with representations of femininity. At the same time, he also clearly shows that his epic models are only partly applicable and require reworking. For instance, he notably thematizes knowledge of political strategy and the constraints that affect the instigation and conduct of war. Even female figures become mouthpieces for such information. This is especially evident in the portrayal of Bellona, who discusses military events. On the occasion of Stilicho's return after the battle at Pollentia (402 CE), she states happily and with satisfaction that the best warrior and a professional army have championed her cause: victory could not occur if Ceres were forced to abandon her plow and take up the *clipeus*.[36] War is emphatically depicted as a current set of affairs that take place within the immediate environment of the ruling couple, Stilicho and his wife Serena. War also thematizes imperial ideology and the function of the two rulers in preserving the power of Rome. The threat of civil war is always present, but never explicitly addressed. Hence the harsh polemic against the Eastern Roman Empire, which is embodied by a eunuch who, unlike women, sins against divine law when he assumes the role of a general.

War is also used to thematize and redefine social norms, especially gender roles. By addressing the series of frequent wars that characterize the turn of the fifth century, Claudian establishes a discourse concerning a rigid gender dichotomy. Anxiety over the instability of the established social order becomes apparent when he treats the transgression of the feminine into the domain of war, which belongs to the male sphere of influence. War also increases the enormous influence that a woman such as Serena wields at court: she becomes an *exemplum* and prompts the creation of poems. Serena also stabilizes the power of the victorious warrior. She does not take pity on the suffering of others, and war does not deeply disturb her. On the losers' side, the role of women is mostly limited to their lament over the loss of status symbols and economic privileges. The wife of Alaric, who complains about her loss of luxury, forms the counterpart to Serena, who earns distinction during the war by rejecting status symbols and extravagant displays. The immediate suffering caused by war, however, affects neither woman directly.

This chapter is a preliminary attempt to approach the literary portrayal of women during war, as well as to discuss Claudian's representation of femininity. The selection of texts necessarily remains limited. Several important topics could not be treated at length, such as the issue of love/erotica and war. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the marital bed of a Christian ruler

is emphasized and given a new function in the context of war.[37] On the one hand, it is the place where the young ruler Honorius "tarries" in chaste marriage; on the other hand, it maintains chastity by becoming the place where war stories substitute for erotic desire.[38]

NOTES

1. On the different treatments of the phenomenon of civil war in the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*, see Feichtinger 2007: 63–7.

2. The poetry of Claudian may be better described as commissioned poetry rather than propaganda literature. In Cameron 2000, the author himself revised the categorization of Claudian's poetry he had presented in an earlier monograph (Cameron 1970).

3. See Keith 2000: esp. 6–7. Of note is the female writer Proba, who, in her *cento Vergilianus de laudibus Christi* (1–8), resorts to a *recusatio* that rejects the memory of the *mala* of wars and seeks to replace traditional military epics with her new topic.

4. See Parry 1963; Putnam 1965; Quinn 1968; among others.

5. See Harich-Schwarzbauer 2006: 105–22.

6. I quote the edition of Hall 1985.

7. The English translations of Claudian follows Platnauer 1922, with occasional corrections and modernizations.

8. Claudian *In Eutrop.* 1.281. The context is the demonstration of the eunuch's inability to succeed in battle.

9. This is probably an allusion to the *Iliad* (6.490–3). On this motif and on forms of implicit complicity of women in war, see Keith 2000: 66–7.

10. Claudian *In Eutrop.* 1.271–80.

11. Claudian *In Eutrop.* 1.332–4.

12. Claudian *In Eutrop.* 1.332–9.

13. Compare the speech of Mars to Bellona in which he ennobles the feminization of the East, symbolized by the feminization of war. See Claudian *In Eutrop.* 2.138–9: *quid, quod et armati cessant et nulla virilis / inter tot gladios sexum reminiscitur ira* ("To think that all these bear arms and use them not, that manly indignation reminds not of their sex those many whose thighs bear a sword!").

14. See, for example, Claudian *In Eutrop.* 1.350–7, where one of the older men who commands authority (*aliquis grauior morum*, 1.350) condemns the perversion of serving under a eunuch.

15. Claudian *In Eutrop.* 1.418–19.

16. On Serena in the dynasty of the Theodosii, see M. Clauss 2002: 374–8.

17. A catalog of mythical women given as booty to the winner in war prepares the way for Serena's function as the prize that surpasses all the *regni dotes* (Claudian

C. min. 30.162–8). Consolino 1986 provides a useful commentary on this passage and on the *Laus Serenae* as a whole.

18. Claudian *C. min.* 30.186–7: *agnouit patrui simile Thermantia curam / nupsit et illa duci* ("Thermantia owes her uncle no lesser debt of gratitude: she too was married to a general").

19. See Seneca *Cons. ad Marc.* 6.7: *at naturale desiderium suorum est. Quis negat, quam diu modicum est? Nam discessu, non solum amissione suorum necessarius morsus est et firmissimorum quoque animorum contractio* (" 'But,' you say, 'sorrow for the loss of one's own children is natural.' Who denies it, provided it be reasonable? For we cannot help feeling a pang, and the stoutest hearted of us are cast down not only at the death of those dearest to us"). Whether Claudian is oriented toward Stoic ethics in order to portray the *uirtutes* of Serena and others needs to be examined in more detail.

20. See, for example, *Il.* 6.466–70, where Hector meets Andromache at the Scaean gate, and Astyanax is frightened by the bronze and crest that decorates his father's helmet. See also Fuhrer (chapter 3).

21. See Consolino 1986: 25–6 for elegiac and epic intertexts.

22. See Consolino 1986: 119–22 ad 212–36, 21–3 ad 217–20 (Ovid *Epist.* 13.113–20), 23–6 ad 221–7 (Propertius 4.3.51–8; Ovid *Hert.* 13.31–2, 37–42, 109–12; Statius *Theb.* 4.200–9).

23. Claudian *Get.* 83–5.

24. Claudian *Get.* 301–9.

25. Claudian *Get.* 621: *miratur sua quemque domus* ("at each his household looks in wonder"); *Get.* 623: *miracula belli* ("the marvel of victory").

26. Keith 2000: 67–78 deals with this question for Augustan and imperial epics.

27. Claudian *Gild.* 17–27.

28. Claudian *Gild.* 209–12.

29. Vergil *Aen.* 7.415–34. See also Long 1996: 101–2.

30. Claudian *Gild.* 326–8: *Hesperiam peruenit auus castumque cubile / ingreditur, Tyrio quo fusus Honorius ostro / carpebat teneros Maria cum coniuge somnos* ("Theodosius the grandfather made his way to Italy and entered the chaste bedchamber where on his couch of Tyrian purple Honorius lay in sweet sleep by the side of his wife Maria"); *Gild.* 339: *exsurge toro!* ("Up from your bed!").

31. A typical example for this technique is provided by the episode where Bellona disguises herself as the wife of Tarbigilus, the count of the Gruthungi, and incites him to break the military alliance with the Western Roman Empire (Claudian *In Eutrop.* 2.174–237).

32. Lucan's *Patria* is imagined as a woman distinguished by her mourning dress and gestures, and his reference to Roma's naked arms (189: *nudis . . . lacertis*) is striking. Intertextuality with Lucan in the *Bellum Gildonicum* arises with respect to the personification of Rome. Claudian's Roma is characterized particularly through her emaciated arms (*ieiuna lacertos / excedit macies*, Claudian *Gild.* 22). There is no mention of this connection in Olechowska 1978: 140, however; her reference to Lucan *Phars.* 2.36–7 does not hit the mark.

33. Claudius *Gild*. 210–2: *solidatam crista resurgens / erexit galeam clipeique recanduit orbis / et leuis excussa micuit rubigine cornus* ("her helmet grew solid, the plumes stood upright, the round shield shone once more, and every trace of rust from her winged, gleaming spear was gone").

34. This observation can be explained by the fact that a Christian ruler can hardly take direct commands from an instantiation of the pagans' divine apparatus.

35. Keith 2000: 78–81 discusses the various positions and provides references to modern publications on this topic.

36. See, for example, Claudian *Get*. 465–8: *nec temptans clipeum proiectis sumere rastris / Bellona ridente Ceres . . . sed uera iuuentus / uerus ductor adest et uiuida Martis imago* ("nor Ceres, trying to hurl the impotent javelin, with her harrow laid aside, to the amusement of Bellona . . . here is Rome's true strength, her true leader, Mars in human form").

37. On this topic, see Harich-Schwarzbauer 2013: 43–7.

38. My great thanks go to Judith Hallett and to Adam Gitner for his translation of my chapter into English.

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